Marxism Today

Theoretical and Discussion Journal of the Communist Party September 1975 30 pence

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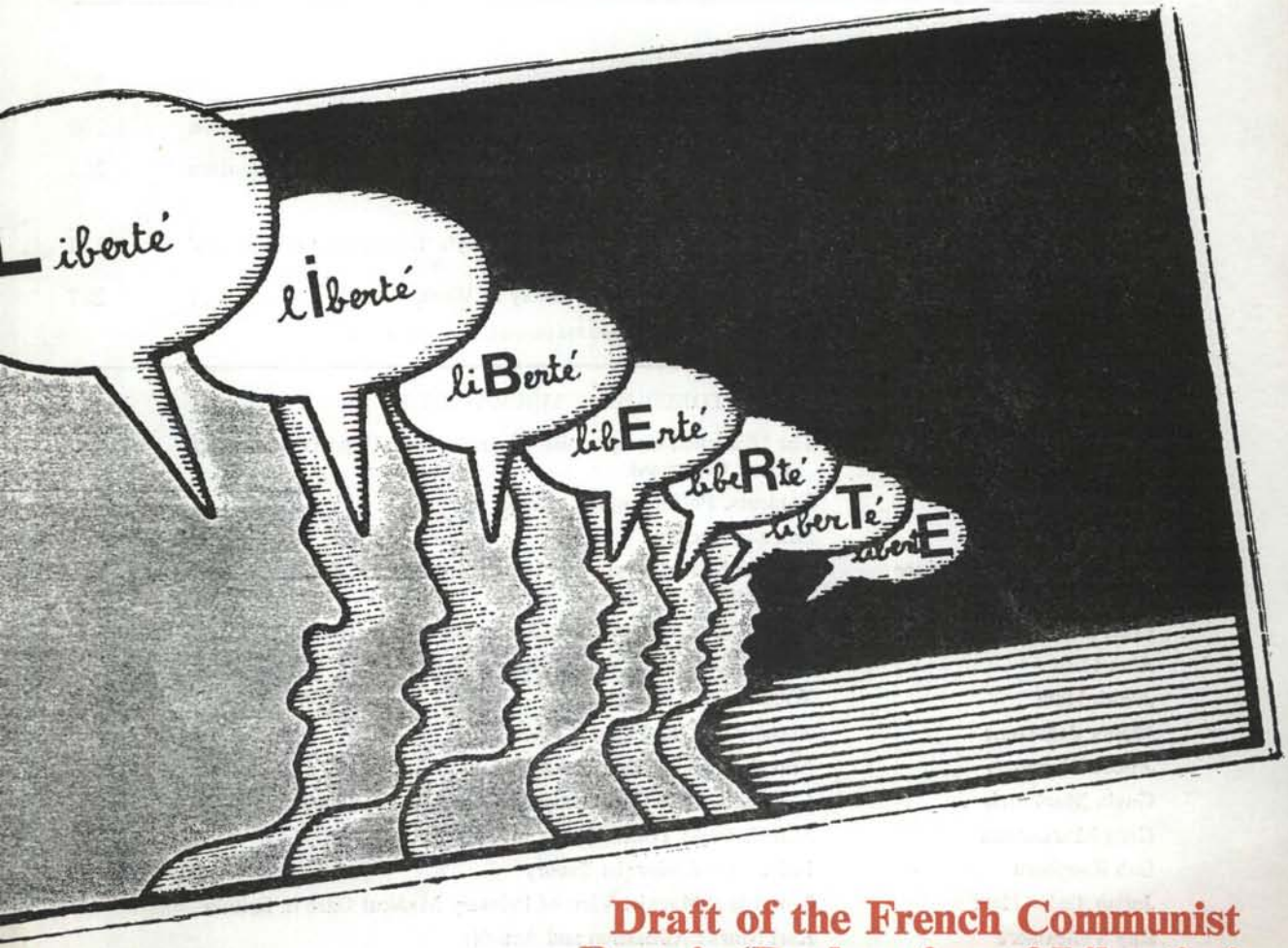

Draft of the French Communist Party's 'Declaration of Liberties'

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Marxism Today

Theoretical and Discussion Journal of the Communist Party

Volume 19, Number 9

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The front cover was designed by Pat Cook. The picture is from *France Nouvelle*.

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Jon Bloomfield	**Students, Politics and the Crisis**
Luciano Gruppi	**Sex and Society**
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Editorial Comments

INCREASED concentration and centralisation, these processes mark all aspects of capitalist power—economic, political, ideological—in the present period of state monopoly capitalism.

A detailed—and sobering—analysis of how this process has developed in the press and through it to sections of television, is provided by *Labour Research* in its July issue.[1]

This states that nine groups control the national daily newspapers and three of them —Beaverbrook Newspapers (*Daily Express* and *Sunday Express*); Reed International (*Daily Mirror, Sunday Mirror* and *Sunday People*); and News International, formerly News of the World Organisation (*The Sun* and *News of the World*) account between them for over 80 per cent of the total circulation.

This amounts to 14,812,000 and the breakdown for the newspapers owned by the three top groups is—*Daily Mirror*, 4,128,000 or 28.5 per cent of the total, *The Sun* with 3,457,000 and 23.3 per cent, and the *Daily Express* with 3,081,000 and 20.8 per cent. The so-called "serious" papers have much smaller circulations—*The Times* with 340,000 readers, *The Guardian* with 354,000 readers and the *Daily Telegraph* with 1,385,000.

The three top groups likewise control a big slice of the readership of the Sunday papers, Rupert Murdoch's *News of the World*, having 5,776,000 or 26.6 per cent of the total readership of Sunday papers (given as 21,710,000), Reed International's *Sunday Mirror* and *Sunday People* with 4,580,000 and 4,351,000 respectively and Beaverbrook's *Sunday Express* with 3,969,000. The "quality" Sunday Papers lag behind with a total of just over 2,000,000 readers between the *Sunday Times*, *Observer* and *Sunday Telegraph*.

What needs noting is that whether sexy, sensational or "serious" or combinations of all three, all are capitalist papers with a definite political slant however concealed, and are read by nearly 15,000,000 people every day and nearly 22 million on Sundays. The power which this gives to the ruling class to influence the ideas of the working class in the wrong direction is thus truly colossal and has been demonstrated recently when the orchestrated press got to work on the Common Market Referendum, wages and inflation, and more recently on behalf of Mr. Reg Prentice.

But these groups do not only concern themselves with newspapers, they are extending their interests to television and commercial radio more and more. The article lists Beaverbrook Newspapers as having interests in Associated Television Corporation, Capital Radio and Radio Clyde; Reed International in Associated Television Corporation and Clyde Radio; the *Daily Telegraph* in London Week-end Television, Observer Holdings in London Week-end Television and Capital Radio, *Manchester Guardian* and *Evening News* in Anglia Television and Greater Manchester Independent Radio etc., etc. In the three years since the passing of the Sound Broadcasting Act, newspaper groups have acquired a 32 per cent stake in London's Capital Radio, 33 per cent in Greater Manchester Independent Radio and 33 per cent in Radio Clyde.

All these developments mark a great increase in monopoly control over some of the media and an increasingly grave threat to free expression of opinion. They emphasise the need for an infinitely greater effort to increase the circulation—at present tiny compared with those of the press giants —of the Labour Movement press, the *Morning Star*, *Tribune* and *Labour Weekly*.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION

Under the slogans of anti-Communism, reactionary forces outside Portugal and especially inside the country, have joined together to mount a most serious threat to the democratic and revolutionary achievements of the Portuguese revolution of April 25, 1974.

In these circumstances the statement, which we print below, issued by the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain on August 4, after hearing a report from the delegation, composed of Jack Woddis, head of the International Depart-

[1] The Press Giants in *Labour Research* July 1975, price 20p.

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ment, and Dave Cook, National Organiser, it sent to discuss the position with leaders of the Communist Party, and which calls for urgent solidarity action, is of great urgency and importance.

> "The Report makes it urgent for us to renew our expressions of solidarity to the Portuguese Communist Party and other democratic organisations under attack, especially in northern Portugal.
>
> "Tories and others in Britain have accused the Portuguese Communists of suppressing democracy and Prime Minister Wilson has associated himself with these attacks. But the attack on democracy in Portugal comes from the right, from those forces wishing to reverse the revolutionary process.
>
> "It is the Communists and members of other left and democratic parties who are being beaten up, their premises raided, their equipment destroyed and their Marxist books burned. This is what Wilson should be condemning.
>
> "The British working-class and labour and progressive movement should immediately express its solidarity with Portuguese democratic forces now under attack.
>
> "We appeal to trade union organisations, co-operatives, shop stewards' committees and other bodies to send messages to their opposite numbers in Portugal to express their solidarity with the Portuguese working class and democratic movement in these critical hours.
>
> "In view of the distortions appearing in the British medias we urge the sending of the maximum number of delegations to Portugal to see the situation for themselves and express solidarity with the Portuguese democrats under attack."

ONCE AGAIN—POLITICAL VICTIMISATION IN WESTERN GERMANY

We have drawn attention in previous issues to the witch-hunting of people out of jobs in the public services and of barring others from entry into them on account of their political opinions and activities, which is taking place in Western Germany.

This—the "Berufsverbot" (Ban on Employment) was legalised in a joint decision taken by the Presidents of the West German Provincial Parliaments and the German Chancellor on January 28, 1972.

This decision is a gross violation of the Basic Constitutional Law. Nevertheless it is being operated by those who constantly laud the Federal German Republic as a bastion of democracy.

The following facts and figures give some small insight into the scope of this McCarthyite persecution.

The "Verbot" was directed first—and mainly—against members of the German Communist Party (DKP) and still is. More recently it has been extended to members of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), Free German Party (FDP) and Trades Unionists of no political persuasion.

Previously teachers were the main targets of the prosecutors—and still are. But the net has now been widened to include lawyers, doctors and scientists. How many people are involved is not known precisely as the Government is not giving any figures.

What is known is that at least 1,200 "Verbot" cases are pending. The organisation which is waging a campaign against it[2] states that it knows of 475 cases of people who have lost their jobs. These include 275 teachers of all kinds (grammar school, secondary school and college lecturers), 16 lawyers, 10 health workers, seven workers in administration.

No less than 450,000 people—those already employed in the Public Services and new applicants for jobs in them—have already been investigated by Commissions which, in the way they operate, bear a sinister resemblance to the notorious "hearings" arranged by the late Senator McCarthy in the United States.

These "hearings" too are a violation of the Constitution. So steps are being taken to alter the Constitution to legalise them. A draft Bill is before the Federal Parliament (Bundestag) which aims to do this.

British progressives cannot stand idly by while this creeping McCarthyism continues and extends. Protests against this anti-democratic and reactionary "Berufsverbot" should be sent to:—

H. H. The Ambassador
German Embassy
23 Belgrave Square
London SW1.

A NEW FRENCH EDITION OF GRAMSCI

The first translation into French of a selection of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* was published by Editions Sociales in 1959. Since then the study of Gramsci's writings has

[2] "Weg mit den Berufsverbot" (End the Employment bans)

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made quite remarkable progress in France, stimulated by the work of Texier, Althusser, Balibar and many others. Apart from the increasing number of specialist studies there is now a very widespread interest in Gramsci in France and a growing desire to come to terms with what Althusser has called "this enormously delicate and subtle work of genius."

This will be greatly helped by a new French edition of the Prison Notebooks selections containing a number of important passages from the Notebooks which were not included in the 1959 edition.[3] The selection is broadly similar though by no means identical with the Lawrence and Wishart selection edited by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (Paperback £2.50). Any student of Gramsci who reads French but not Italian can therefore study this edition with advantage.

There is also a new and perceptive introduction by Francois Ricci. He rightly points out that some of Gramsci's theoretical formulations, for example those on materialism and science, may not stand up very well to critical analysis, but that Gramsci's most valuable contributions can generally only be grasped by a very attentive reading of the text. Ricci comments helpfully on Gramsci's ideas about intellectuals and on his concepts of 'hegemony' and 'historic bloc'. It is to be hoped that Gramscian studies will soon become as widespread in Britain as they are in France, for the Marxist theory of the state and of the various levels of the superstructure is deeply enriched by his thought.

THE TOWN OF TOMORROW

We wrote last month of the important Marxist study by W. Houghton-Evans—*Planning Cities: Legacy and Portent*—recently published by Lawrence & Wishart[4]. Those who can read French will certainly be interested in a work just published by the French Communist publishers—*The Town of Tomorrow*—by Francois Ascher and Jean Giard[5].

Francois Ascher is an expert in questions of urbanism, now working at the Department of Urbanism at the University of Paris VIII. Jean Giard, a former building worker and experienced trade unionist, is now Secretary of the Grenoble City Committee of the French Communist Party and a member of the leadership of its Isère Federation.

French Marxists have carried out considerable work—practical and theoretical—in the field of urbanism. In May 1973 a discussion conference was organised by the CERM (Centre for Marxist Study and Research) on "Urbanism—Monopolist or Democratic?". Under the title of "For an Urbanism. . . ." a colloquium was organised at Grenoble jointly by the Isère Federation of the Communist Party and the theoretical Party journal *Nouvelle Critique* in April 1974, which was attended by over 1,200 academics, research workers, MPs and councillors, political and trade union representatives.

The two authors who together combine a wide range of theoretical and practical knowledge and experience of everything connected with towns set out to write a non-specialist book comprehensible to all.

In the first part of their study they treat questions of "Urbanism and Society"—the process of growth and speed of towns, the crisis of town development under capitalism and its future in socialist society.

They then, in Part II, discuss more in detail "Monopolies, State and Urbanism"—the specific effects of the monopolies, the manifold problems of planning.

In Part III they discuss very concretely questions of "Our Needs and Priorities"—housing, building, employment and allied problems.

And, fourthly and finally, they examine the character of the "Struggles and Perspectives" that lie ahead in France—questions of the role of local collectives, of ideological struggle, and the aim of an urbanism for men and women (and not for profit).

The question of life in towns concern the great majority of people in countries like France and Britain. And the aim of the authors is to help them in a conscious way to struggle in this field. As they say in the Introduction to their work:

> "Life in towns concerns a growing number of working people. In this connection living conditions are deteriorating for almost the totality of our population, and new needs remain unsatisfied. For many people the process of urbanism in our country seems incompatible with improving their housing conditions, reducing the time spent on transport and improving its quality, incompatible with the development of leisure, with the family relationships to which they aspire—all things which, to adopt a fashionable expression, provide or deny a certain 'quality of life' ".

[3] *Gramsci dans le Texte*, edited by Francois Ricci in collaboration with Jean Brabant, Editions Sociales, Paris. 60F.

[4] W. Houghton-Evans—*Planning Cities: Legacy and Portent*, Lawrence & Wishart, £7.00.

[5] Francois Ascher and Jean Giard—*Demain, la Ville?* Editions Sociales, Paris, 13 francs.

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Parliament, Anti-Monopoly Alliance and Socialist Revolution

John Gollan

(Text of a lecture delivered at the Communist University of London, (CUL 7) July, 1975

A central point of the strategy of *The British Road to Socialism*[1] can be summed up as follows:

The logical outcome of the fight to extend democracy and undermine monopoly capitalism is the winning of political power by the working class and its allies.

This requires a social revolution without which socialism cannot be built.

Political power, won by the working class, supported by a broad alliance, must establish a new socialist state. The Communist Party has a decisive part to play in all this and it stands to reason that a much stronger Communist Party is needed.

This whole process can only arise out of struggle in which important inroads will be made into monopoly power. Our aim must be to isolate the monopolists and the Tories, to break the right wing domination of the labour movement. Working class unity, necessary for the immediate struggle, is even more vital for winning political power. It is at the heart of the wider anti-monopoly alliance which is necessary. Political co-operation between a left majority in the Labour Party when it is won and the Communist Party will be indispensable.

It should be clear from this brief summary that the prolonged economic crisis of capitalism brings about a crisis in its political institutions and bourgeois democracy.

It poses the need to develop our political institutions and democracy to a new qualitatively different stage.

This analysis is borne out increasingly by events.

The present crisis in British political institutions and to a certain extent in the British Constitution can be summarised under a number of heads.

The so-called balance in the British political set-up compared with Western Europe has usually been presented as stable government based on the alternating two-Party system. This implied agreement on broad essentials of political, economic and social policy. For it to work the Labour Party had to be under right wing control and the system had to assure a measure of continual social advance. It presupposed that neither side aimed at a fundamental change of the social system.

[1] Programme of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The 'Balance' under strain

This balance is now being subjected to increasing strain.

There never was in fact, an exclusive two-Party system. But due in the main to the electoral system, Parliamentary elections these last 40 years resulted in a government of one or another of the two Parties, Tory and Labour. That is except for the coalition governments of the 1931 economc crisis and that of the Second World War.

In the two elections of 1974 this pattern was significantly broken. Normally the electoral system required that the Labour or Tory Party had to win at least 46 per cent of the votes to get the necessary seats for a stable majority government. The highest post-war Labour vote was 48.8 per cent and the highest Tory vote 49.7 per cent. But in the two elections last year the Labour vote averaged 38.2 per cent and the Tory 37 per cent. So February's Labour government was a minority government and in October the majority was three. Hardly stable governments.

It should be noted, of course, that even in the period of "stable" governments, the Emergency Powers Act was repeatedly invoked and troops used in industrial disputes.

In the present situation, therefore, stable governments are proving the exception not the rule.

Two New Trends

So we see two new trends. First the coalition trend—what neither Party can do alone the two will do together. At this stage it is more *de facto* than official. Second, there is the argument that inflation and the crisis threatens the whole democratic system. In other words the plea for some form of authoritarian rule. Indeed even now we have the increasing use of the police, conspiracy laws, threats to use the army and the formation of private strike-breaking armies.

We argue that the defence and further development of democracy is bound up with the success of the struggle of the left forces and their alternative economic strategy, a point which we should make again and again.

As we have noted, the situation is bringing about a measure of constitutional crisis. The struggle over

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the Industrial Relations Act precipitated a constitutional crisis.

There is the breakdown of the 50 year old constitutional settlement in Northern Ireland and the mass deployment of the army. There is the proposal of devolution for Scotland and Wales. The device of the referendum, a constitutional innovation, was used for the first time on the Common Market. There is increased talk of electoral reform.

The first point to make is that all this is the result of acute economic, political and social struggle, arising out of the crisis of British capitalism. The outcome of this struggle will decide how the political crisis is resolved and in whose interests. Of greatest importance here is the relation of class forces which is now developing.

The lessons of the defeat of the Industrial Relations Act are very relevant here. The facts are well known but they bear repetition.

Because of the economic crisis the ruling class (whether Labour or Tory is in office) has to attempt to impose statutory control of wages and legal compulsion over the unions. These are corporate state measures.

They bring the State as well as the employers into acute confrontation with the workers and the trades unions.

The Fight Against the Industrial Relations Act

The 1964-70 Labour governments' attempt at this (*In Place of Strife*) never reached the statute book in face of the active resistance of the workers and the degree of change in the balance of forces in the movement as a result of left advances.

But under Heath the effort was made yet again in the period of the biggest strikes Britain had seen for years. So we had the Industrial Relations Act, complete with state controlled ballots, a new court and all the panoply of the law to make strikes virtually illegal.

The Labour leaders in opposition struck the classic reformist pose. Parliament had passed the law—the law had to be obeyed. It must not be challenged or changed by struggle—wait till the next Labour government which would repeal the Act.

Ever increasing sections of the unions and the movement and especially the Communist Party argued: defy this undemocratic law, ignore the court, and if need be use the weapon of the general strike. In other words extra-Parliamentary action.

The confrontation was stark—the law was defied and the court ignored by many. The state authorities had to take action to maintain their credibility. The Pentonville Five were jailed. Strikes swept the country, the AUEW proposal for a 24 hour general strike was endorsed by the General Council. The government capitulated. The pickets were released and the law was rendered inoperative.

Heath then chose to go to the country on the issue of the unions, using the miners' strike as his pretext. You know the result. As the *Times* Editorial put it (March 7, 1974): "It is the first time that an industrial stoppage has provoked a general election and indirectly brought about the downfall of a government".

To sum up this aspect of crisis, we had an issue which united the working class (the freedom of the unions) and could bring its formidable highly organised strength into play. With the correct slogans, leadership and forms of struggle, this was done. Against this the Tory dominated Parliament had the entire forces of the state, the law, the police, the army and the prisons. But they were largely nullified. In this particular relation of class forces the working class proved stronger than the ruling class.

Of course the issue of incomes policy remains. We now have the Wilson, Healey £6 or 10 per cent incomes policy (allegedly to combat inflation) with the narrow TUC consent and statutory powers in the background. Even some of the left support it. But this will collapse too as all the other attempts at incomes policy in the past 27 years have collapsed in face of working class opposition.

The Advance of the Left

As we have noted the concept of stable government was based on a Labour Party under right wing control. Perhaps the biggest single change in the political scene is the advance of the left and its effect on the balance of forces in the labour movement.

To achieve this has been a central aim of our Party's strategy, both immediate and long term.

Regarding the unions, they have grown in numbers and effectiveness. The struggle against the Industrial Relations Act speeded up the left advance which had started before then. We have seen the emergence of left leadership in key unions and a left group on the General Council. Left policies have developed with the beginnings of an alternative economic strategy.

There has been the corresponding effect of all this in the Labour Party in which the trade union vote is decisive. Robert McKenzie in his book (*British Political Parties*, 1954) saw the relationship of the trade unions to the Labour Party as the key to its right wing control and hence to the smooth working of the British political system. He wrote:

> "But the Parliamentary leaders have little to fear from the party conference as long as they retain the confidence (and block vote support) of the traditionally moderate and conservative leadership of the majority of big trade unions. Indeed it is this bond of mutual confidence between the parliamentary and trade union leadership of the labour movement which is an essential key to the under-

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> standing of the functioning of the Labour Party." (p. 506)

It is precisely this which is changing first in the Labour Party Conference, then in the Labour Party Executive and to a lesser extent in the Parliamentary Labour Party with the *Tribune Group*.

Generally there is now stress and conflict between the right wing controlled Labour government and the left over a wide spectrum of policy.

This whole situation, understandably, is causing the utmost concern to the capitalist establishment and the right wing.

However, two further points remain to be made.

Features of "The Left"

First, regarding the use of this generic phrase "the left". The left is not a homogeneous or static grouping. There are those who adopt a left position on some issues and not on others. But what is common is that they are prepared to fight on some aspect of the capitalist system. Many of them, influenced by reformism, lack a coherent socialist perspective. Others are more consistently left and work for socialism. Many do not see the role of the mass struggle, some are in the Labour Party, some are not.

The point is by its nature the left in itself is not a cohesive organised party.

These characteristics of the labour left underlines the need for the distinctive role and leadership of the nationally organised Marxist Communist Party in all the left developments and in the mass struggle.

This problem of the varied character of the left is seen in the current disagreements over incomes policy and the argument that support is necessary to keep Labour in office. It is clear therefore that the development of the left requires comradely discussion and resolution of the problems within it.

These problems cover not only incomes policy but the degree of political change and pressure needed to push the Labour government on a left course. This is the only real condition for its survival. The Wilson-Healey line as many of the left in addition to the Communist Party, point out, is the road of catastrophe and Tory come-back.

The second point to note is the right wing counter-offensive against the left. Here the right wing proceeds from extremely strong positions. They dominate the PLP and the government itself and defy left Conference decisions. They have used the referendum result to re-shuffle the government still more to the right. They control many unions and the General Council of the TUC.

The left advances, vital though they have been, should not be over-estimated. They not only need to be consolidated, they have to be greatly extended.

We have now reached the stage where the struggle for left policies and their implementation has to be combined with the fight for significant left changes in leadership, men and women who are prepared to carry out the policies demanded by the movement.

The Coalition Trend

The coalition trend which has emerged since the crisis has a decided bearing on this. Wilson in all his public statements resolutely rejects a coalition government. Apart from the fact that he knows that the labour movement would never tolerate an open coalition he prefers the present type of situation. Jenkins and others would happily participate in a coalition government. The Tories are divided, Heath plugging the idea, Thatcher biding her time for an open Tory bid for power.

However, the position that seems to be developing is, that in order to put right wing crisis measures through, the government will have to rely increasingly on open or tacit Tory support, e.g. Tory abstention on the Healey measures. In other words to govern, at least for the moment, with non-labour support against the labour movement.

After all what was politically new in the referendum campaign? For the first time on a major political issue a Labour Government officially campaigned in tandem with the Tory opposition against the declared decisions of the labour movement. A considerable section of the Cabinet (Jenkins, Shirley Williams, Prentice etc) campaigned publicly on joint platforms with the main Tory and Liberal leaders. At the same time the left pressure was such that another group of Cabinet members (Benn, Shore, Castle etc.) campaigned against the Labour government for the decisions of the labour movement. This was an unprecedented political position.

We should note too that there was an underlying element of a bid for leadership in the referendum campaign—Heath for the Tory leadership, Jenkins and Benn for the Labour leadership.

However, this coalition trend too is inherently unstable. The Wilson economic crisis measures will ultimately divide the country as they are more and more shown to be in the interests of the monopolists and resistance against them grows.

The left-right divisions in the movement will grow. The reflection of these divisions in the Cabinet were open in the referendum campaign, but are now, in public at least, papered over on the government's crisis measures. No left minister resigned. But they are not solved. Differentiation at all levels will increase and and direct coalition moves would blow them wide open. Even the *de facto* coalition position will become more unbearable as the left in Parliament votes against the government on some issue or another.

Therefore the question of leadership will come more to the fore.

Then there is the spurious social argument for

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coalition: that the mass of the population is "moderate", that neither the Labour left nor the Tory right is representative of their parties. It is a variant of the old, discredited consensus argument, that in an election Labour must win the "Centre" so they must be moderate, and so likewise must the Tories.

In fact the last elections showed the rise of the Liberal and Scots and Welsh nationalists' votes. Between them these parties got around 25 per cent of the votes (some of course were Northern Ireland) and 39 seats.

To an extent the problem is connected with the concept of how to develop a broad popular anti-monopolist alliance around the working class.

Problems of Building an Anti-Monopoly Alliance

The rise of the Liberal and Nationalist votes, as far as Labour is concerned, is, I am convinced, due to right wing policy. Because of this the differences between the two main parties are blurred, basic Labour aims are devalued, nationalisation made to appear a dirty word. The Labour activists are less active. The Liberals are able to pose as an "alternative" between the two main parties. As both main parties act on behalf of the monopolists, big middle sections feel that their interests are neglected. Certainly the growth of the nationalist vote in Scotland and Wales was due to Labour neglect, perhaps more accurately, downright hostility to the national issue in politics.

I have not the time to go into the social composition of voters for the various parties on which a certain amount of work has been done in *Marxism Today*. While most workers vote Labour, many vote Conservative and the nationalists and Liberals have won votes from both parties.

While we have a preponderant working class the fact is that the weight of the middle sections is growing in the population due in part to the growth of the service and public sections compared with industrial production. And we have relatively large small business, small shopkeeper and farming sections. An incipient, confused "middle class" movement is developing. The main problem still remains for the labour movement to get the votes of the whole working class.

However, the Communist Party has correctly posed winning of the middle sections in an alliance round the working class, both for the present political situation and for the future struggle for Socialism.

A new important development here is the growth of trade unionism amongst some of these sections and their association with the TUC. From a rough calculation I would say that the number of trade unionists in the unions covering these sections (of course many of these trade unionists are manual workers) has gone up from three-quarters of a million in 1960 to two and a quarter million in 1974. Some of this is accounted for in the growth in numbers in the unions already affiliated to the TUC in the sixties. But there have been completely new affiliations. NALGO, NUT, ATTI etc. So they are increasingly organisationally associated with the manual workers in the TUC.

The other important factor is the development of the National Union of Students, in numbers, in policy, in mass campaigning and in the forms of association with the organised working class movement.

What Needs to Be Done

But there remains the political question. When these sections are taken together with the industrial workers, the total is the overwhelming majority of the population. They are potentially winnable into the great anti-monopoly alliance we aim for, isolating the Tories and the monopolists.

I think that the major problem at this stage is for the left including the Communists, to extend their appeal politically and socially. We must present our whole crisis programme and alternative economic strategy as the only way out for Britain as a whole.

We have to show that it is not only in the interests of the working class but of all the middle sections too. We should stress its anti-monopoly character, that in fact it would help the small shopkeeper, the farmers, the small business people. That it is the left, not the government which speaks for the genuine national interests of Britain.

Drawing these sections closer to the left in this way, drawing them into action around the programme is a precondition for developing the alliance and breaking the position of near political deadlock in the elections.

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Associated with this is the correct handling of the issues arising from devolution in Scotland and Wales and the situation in Northern Ireland.

On devolution the big issue is whether the proposed Assemblies will have real powers. But there is also the political issue, the government change of heart in October on devolution was a twelfth hour conversion.

Whatever the outcome a new element or dimension is introduced in British politics, a new institutionalising of Scots and Welsh politics with potential divisiveness unless handled properly by the labour movement. It has importance for the British scene as a whole, for the Scots and Welsh parliamentary seats are indispensable for a Westminster anti-Tory majority.

The Irish problem (it has been dealt with by James Stewart) is the most acute in British politics involving as it does the army. It must be democratically solved by the labour and democratic movements in both countries as an act of justice for Ireland. It has also been the means whereby the government has introduced new repressive laws into Britain and has posed the role of the army in politics.

There is the so-called counter-insurgency training, the special army units and training for use in strikes. After Chile there was open discussion in the press of possible coups. *The British Road to Socialism* correctly warns of resistance, including possible force, against a left government. Important here is the need to press the demand that members of the armed forces, the police and the Civil Service be given full political rights, be permitted to take part in political activities and join political parties and trade unions. Second, there is the demand for the halving of military expenditure as a crisis measure. Such heavy military expenditure is not needed in a period of detente. But this arms cut would also reduce the threat of militarism in British political life.

This brings me to two final points.

The Next Political Step

The Party presents not only its economic programme for the crisis but its concept of the next political step, namely a Labour government compelled by the pressure of the mass movement to carry out left policies. The present stage of the Labour government shows how far the situation must be developed to achieve this and emphasises the need for better Communist electoral work and political work generally.

Either the mass movement succeeds in compelling the government to change course or we will end up with the dreary historical repetition of a Labour government going so far to the right as to bring about a Tory come-back, or perhaps even a Tory-Liberal government. This is the real answer to those who argue that the government must be supported on its present anti-working class crisis programme.

The Communist Party and the left have a heavy responsibility to develop the mass movement in this direction. The right depends on the power of reformist ideas, and the current element of disarray on the government's so-called inflation policy shows the power of these ideas, as well as the still strong position within the movement. So the battle is not only one of mass action but a battle of ideas too.

Our alternative programme for the crisis and similar programmes by other sections of the left are, historically, long overdue. They are not only necessary. The measures proposed, if applied, would make great inroads into the power of monopoly capitalism and would result in a shift to the left in the country. And as we have argued this involves changes in leadership; the two things go together.

It is in development of this process that we see the possibility of the unfolding of the longer term aims of *The British Road to Socialism*—the aim ultimately of a Socialist Labour and Communist Parliamentary majority pledged to decisive socialist change actively backed by the working people.

As our Programme puts it, there will be advances and setbacks. Political power must be won and in the struggle for power "the winning of a majority in Parliament, supreme organ of representative power is one of the essential steps".

When a socialist majority is won the Programme further argues, it will need the support of the mass movement outside Parliament to uphold the decisions taken inside Parliament. Conversely the Parliamentary decisions will give legal endorsement to popular aims and popular struggle. The strength of the mass movement will be felt in Parliament and the strength of the socialist movement within Parliament will strengthen the movement outside.

"In this way", *The British Road* puts it "by political action, using our democratic rights to transform traditional institutions, Parliament can be made into the effective instrument of the peoples' will, able to carry through major legislation to challenge capitalist power, and replace capitalism by socialism".

Note: *This lecture was delivered before the vote in Parliament on the Government's crisis measures. In the event the Tories did abstain, 34* Tribune *Group MPs voted against and one junior Minister, Robert Hughes, resigned.*

October Issue

The first article in the October issue will be

"STUDENTS, POLITICS AND THE CRISIS"

by

JON BLOOMFIELD

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Soviet Economists Discuss Inflation and Modern Capitalism

Jenny Warren (Editor)

The Soviet journal World Economy and International Relations *has initiated a debate on inflation in its March 1975 issue with a round-table discussion between leading economists.*

All the participants in this very wide-ranging investigation of the causes of inflation agreed that there are various factors affecting the current rise in prices in the capitalist-world system. Below we publish excerpts from the various contributions (to which we have added some sub-heads) which deal with the principal domestic causes: monopoly pricing and state regulation of the economy; and which examine the nature of the relationship between monetary and production causes of inflation. The latter is at the centre of the argument among the Soviet economists.

External factors mentioned by many of the speakers were the artificially low price of gold and its demonetisation, about which there was disagreement; the change in the terms of trade with primary producers; and the impact of imported inflation (to which Shishkov devoted the whole of his interesting contribution) and, in particular, the role of the euro-currency market in the expansion of credit. Two contributors (Krasavina and Entov) evaluated the efficacy of anti-inflationary measures, while another interesting contribution (by Usoskin) elaborated on the relationship between monetary and socio-economic causes of inflation.

SERGEI DALIN

Inflation Not Sole Explanation of Rising Prices

The first question that arises in this connection is whether it is correct to call the current rise in prices inflation?

A scientific definition of inflation has been provided by Marx. Inflation occurs when the channels of monetary circulation are filled to overflowing with paper-money tokens of value in excess of the demand for commodity circulation expressed in gold. He wrote: "Any increase in the total number of tokens of value would result in a similar decrease in the quantity of gold represented by each individual token. A rise in prices would only be a reaction in the process of circulation, forcing the token of value to equal that amount of gold in place of which they circulate."[1]

Since the issue of paper money is a state monopoly, the state can use this means in order to cover its budgetary deficits, and this becomes the source of inflation. Vast military expenditures and the arms race are the main cause of budgetary deficits. In a number of capitalist countries, inflation—that is, an excess of the supply of paper money over the demand for commodity circulation—emerges as the principal cause of rising prices. However, this is far from being the case in state-monopoly capitalist countries.

In the United States, for example, between 1950 and 1965 the increase in the supply of goods was very nearly double the increase in the supply of paper money (including demand deposits). During this particular period of time, there was no inflation in the Marxist sense of the word. None the less, both wholesale and retail prices rose, especially the latter. Consequently there were other reasons for their rising.

The years of the Vietnam war were accompanied by a very marked inflation and a corresponding increase in wholesale and retail prices. With regard to retail prices, their rise up to 1970 exceeded the increase in the volume of paper money. During the economic crisis and depression of 1969-71, however, the reverse process took place: the increase in both wholesale and retail prices lagged behind the inflationary growth of paper money in circulation. Beginning in 1972 the rise in wholesale and retail prices considerably exceeded the inflationary increase in paper money. Quite obviously, price rises over the past three years cannot be explained simply by inflation.

Other Reasons for Price Rises

What other, non-inflationary, reasons are there for price rises?

[1] Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 103 (in Russian).

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The first and oldest cause of price fluctuations is the change in the relationship between supply and demand in different phases of the cycle. . . .

The cyclical rise or fall of prices should not be interpreted as inflation or deflation. Marx pointed out that it is necessary, in analysing price movements, to operate with average prices over the whole cycle.

In conditions of monopoly capitalism, and especially state-monopoly capitalism, the law regarding the cyclical movement of prices is modified in the same way as the cycle itself. Monopolies prefer to reduce the volume of output rather than prices, while the state, with a view to stimulating the economy, forces an additional volume of paper money into the channels of circulation. As a result of these joint activities by the mopolies and the state, prices continue to rise (only growth rates may slacken) despite a fall-off in demand and output. The supply of paper money grows, even though there are fewer goods in circulation. The former elasticity, reflected in either an increase or a reduction in the availability of money in circulation depending on the volume of goods, has disappeared.

The removal of gold from circulation has put an end to this elasticity.

The main reason for the rise in prices is the law of monopoly price and monopoly superprofit. At the present time its impact is many times greater as a result of the gigantic concentration and monopolisation of production in general, especially in the 1960s.

It needs to be said that even the law of monopoly price now appears in a modified form. The interweaving and merging of the monopolies with the state has caused monopoly price to change into state-monopoly price. Regulation of a capitalist economy entails an increase in monopoly prices as well as an increase in state budgetary deficits. Both of them push prices upwards. Nevertheless, a distinction should be made between an inflationary increase in prices and price rises due to the increasing strength and dominance of the monopolies. . . .

However, after the Second World War the prices of all goods (with the exception of gold) moved in the opposite direction to their value, even when there was no inflation. The value of goods fell, while prices rose. The reason for this, at first sight paradoxical, phenomenon is to be found in the sharply increasing strength of the monopolies which were in a position to raise prices even at a time when their value was falling. . . .

Keynsian economists in the United States have come out with a proposal for demonetising gold completely and depriving it of its function as a world currency. Suggestions of this kind, however, are doomed to failure. So long as capitalism exists, gold will act as the embodiment of social wealth and a universal equivalent.

Thus, there are many reasons for the current rise in prices. Inflation in the strictly scientific meaning of this word is only one, and not yet the main, reason. The exceptionally increased strength of the monopolies, their interweaving with the state, the transformation of monopoly price into state-monopoly price and into a means for redistributing national income in favour of the monopolies and the state—these are the main causes of the current rise in prices. . . .

ALEXANDRIA EIDELNANT

Inflationary Effect of Investment

What are the special features of current inflation? That a rise in prices should take place in the absence of a budgetary deficit—or, what is the same thing, in the absence of a preliminary increase in the money supply—and that a rise in prices should occur in a situation of depression, over-production of commodities, and unemployment, is normally regarded as new and previously unknown. . . .

In order to illustrate the first of these two features a comparison is usually made between rates of growth of the money supply and retail sales over a certain period of time. This, however, produces different results depending on whether current or constant prices are used and, for this reason, this method cannot lead to reliable conclusions. Thus, for example, during the 25 years after 1947 retail sales increased 352 per cent in current prices, while the money supply (including demand deposits) increased only 102 per cent. Using constant prices, retail sales increased 173 per cent over exactly the same period.

Thus, in the first case the expansion of sales exceeded the increase in the money supply 3.5 times, but in the second 1.7 times. The difference is substantial.

Moreover, some explanation should be given as to what is meant by retail sales. This is evidently the sum total of the prices of goods multiplied by the velocity of their turnover and definitely not the sum total of prices in the turnover of goods which, according to Marx's formula [that an increase in the quantity of paper money in excess of the needs of circulation acts as the initial impulse in its depreciation], serves as the starting point for determining the amount of the money supply necessary for circulation.

Since in present-day conditions inflationary prices are used instead of gold prices to establish

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the rate of continuing inflation, this departure from the methodology set out in Marx's formula is particularly disastrous. Inflationary prices magnify the error in the calculations, particularly since the amount of money in circulation is used without adjusting for its velocity of circulation, i.e. the amount is understated.

It is this kind of approach, however, that leads to the conclusion that the special feature of current inflation is that it develops without any preliminary increase in the money supply. But the relative stability of the money supply in capitalist countries is compensated by a high velocity which is connected with the expansion of non-cash settlements.

Money Creating Process Changed

It is impossible to ignore the fact that the very process of creating money has changed. The issue of banknotes no longer holds a leading position, while non-cash settlements greatly exceed the total number of cash transactions. The turnover of enterprise assets occurs without taking a monetary form. A number of new banking operations are developing along these same lines.

It emerges clearly from this that such an indicator of inflation as a physical increase in the money supply is transparently outdated.

In Marx's view a budgetary deficit and the ensuing excess issue of paper money is not the sole motive force in inflation. It has another, as it were investment, aspect to it which is very up to date and immediate.

Volume II of *Capital* contains the idea that if government investments are made on a large scale they may initiate a general rise in prices. In this connection, Marx referred to railway construction in Russia, as a result of which

> "not a single product is thrown on to the market to replace the material elements of productive capital taken from the market in the course of the year".[2]

He wrote further that

> "since the elements of productive capital are being constantly extracted from the market and only their money equivalent is being thrown on to the market in their place, effective demand is being augmented though it does not contain within it any elements of supply. Hence the prices of both vital necessities and productive materials rise."[3]

As we know, the inflationary effect of investment has been sharply revealed in the developing countries, for it is here, to use Prebisch's expressive description, that an unholy alliance takes place between inflation and industrialisation. But, in the developed capitalist countries as well, the inflationary impact of investment could not fail to grow stronger in view of the tremendous increase in government expenditure which in the 1960s and 1970s has far exceeded traditional limits. Besides military and administrative outlays, expenditure is increasing on the infrastructure, protection of the environment, etc. All these outlays generate, among those employed on these construction projects, fresh purchasing demand which does not as a rule contain within it any elements of supply and hence has an inflationary effect.

This aspect of inflation which we can agree to call the inflationary effect of investment also stems essentially from Marx's formula concerning the quantity of money needed for circulation in so far as it is caused by a divergence between the supply of money and the supply of goods. . . .

Thus, when Marx analysed the inflationary effect of investment, he related it to the problem of the reproduction of social capital and to the distribution of investment between departments I and II. This stance is of exceptional importance in studying current inflation. As we know, over-investment can, at one and the same time, lead to the over-production of some goods and a shortage of others, and to a drop or an increase in the prices of some or other articles. This should be borne in mind in view of the present vagaries of inflation.

GEORGE SOLYUS

Every Price Rise Amounts to Inflation

Until comparatively recently the technical, monetary treatment of inflation completely dominated our journals. Nowadays a social and economic approach has become much more widespread, though it has not sufficiently matured to enable a satisfactory definition of inflation to be given from this point of view.

From the technical, monetary point of view, inflation is defined as "the flooding of the channels of circulation with excess paper money, causing its depreciation and a redistribution of the social product and national income among different sectors of the economy, and among different social classes and groups to the advantage of the possessing classes".[4] Roughly the same sort of definition is given to inflation in

[2] Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 354 (in Russian).
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 355.
[4] *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, 3rd edition, Vol. 10, pp. 347-348 (in Russian).

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college textbooks on money and credit and on political economy.

However, if we turn to the statistics, it turns out that no such flooding of the channels of circulation with excess money has occurred in the postwar period and yet inflation has occurred. Let us take, for example, the period when inflation developed most intensively in the United States—1968-72. Gross national product grew by 33.5 per cent in the US, while the amount of money in circulation increased by 14 per cent (in terms of M1, i.e. currency in circulation plus sight deposits). In Britain during this period the gross national product increased by 43.3 per cent but money supply by 38.8 per cent, although inflation reached such proportions in this country that the government was forced to devalue the pound at the end of 1967 by 14.3 per cent. In West Germany the figures were respectively 53.4 per cent and 43 per cent. In all these countries the growth in the money supply lagged behind the rate of growth of GNP, whereas money depreciated during this same period by 15.2 per cent in the United States, by 17.2 per cent in Britain, and by 11 per cent in West Germany. Is it possible to explain this depreciation by the flooding of the channels of circulation with paper money?

Theoretically speaking, even at a time when the depreciation of money is due solely to its excess issue (although such an assumption is scarcely real), doubt should have been cast on the definition of inflation cited above since it reflects merely the superficial phenomenon and fails to answer the fundamental question as to precisely what economic processes taking place in the country forced the state to undertake such a measure.

Why Depreciation of Money?

The causes of inflation should be sought in the sphere of production and not in the sphere of circulation. Moreover, the technical, monetary formulation of inflation creates the impression that the cause of inflation lies in the sphere of circulation—a view with which it is impossible to agree.

The experience of the First World War at least taught the capitalists something and nowadays not a single capitalist state has recourse to the printing press in order to cover its budgetary deficit. That is the lot of the developing countries and then not all of them. The imperialist states prefer to cover their deficits by borrowing and to take other anti-inflationary measures without permitting an excess issue of money which would help develop inflation.

The reason for the depreciation of money lies in the continuous increase in prices which is a consequence of the sharpening contradictions in capitalist reproduction. . . .

State-monopoly measures to save the capitalist system are expressed in combining the economic strength of the monopolies with the might of the state into a single mechanism. But in order to carry out these measures the state must have funds. The greater the contradictions, the more necessary it is to have funds for this type of measure, but there is a shortage of such funds. In that situation the state resorts to increasing taxation. It is not, of course, only working people who pay taxes but capitalists, too. The difference is however that, whereas working people pay taxes out of their income without being able to retrieve the money in any way, capitalists can compensate themselves for any deductions by raising prices.

The monopolies set the tone in the price-rise mechanism. Monopoly prices have become a symbol of the omnipotence and brigandage of the big bourgeoisie. This is an exceptionally easy kind of rake-off: it is enough for the monopolies to do a deal about establishing "uniform prices" and millions of super-profits are secured. This is the first cause of rising prices.

The second cause is to be found in the different kinds of state purchases. It is known that the profits made by companies working on government contract are about 15-20 per cent higher than average due to over-pricing. As we know a large group of capitalists, including small and medium-sized sub-contractors of the big monopolies, work on orders for the state. That is why there is in this case a chain reaction of price increases. . . .

One more feature of inflation at the present time needs to be noted. Certain periods may occur during the development of capitalism when inflation takes place in conditions of a rise in real wages. Thus, between 1968 and 1972 average nominal wages increased by 28.9 per cent in the United States, while retail prices rose only 22.2 per cent. In Britain the figures were 44.4 per cent and 26.8 per cent respectively, and in West Germany they were 55.6 per cent and 17 per cent. True, starting at the end of 1973 and throughout 1974, real wages in these countries declined.

But the very fact of inflation at a time of rising real wages needs explaining. The scientific and technological revolution helps to increase the exploitation of the working class. National income grows more rapidly as a result of rising labour productivity. Hence, despite a certain increase in real wages, the entrepreneurs obtain tremendous additional profits. Statistics confirm

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this. In the United States between 1968 and 1972 the average weekly wage in manufacturing industry rose by 63 per cent, while capitalist profits post-tax increased by 112 per cent. The same picture can be seen in the case of West Germany: between 1966 and 1969 the profits of the 100 largest corporations increased by 52.6 per cent, while wages rose by only 12.4 per cent.

LYDIA KRASAVINA

A Multi-Factor Process

Some economists cast doubts on the link between inflation and the flooding of the sphere of circulation with excess money. But the arguments produced in the course of the present discussion by Professor Solyus are not convincing. Firstly, the period selected for his calculations is not significant. The base year chosen to show that there is an excess amount of money in circulation is, after all, extremely important.

If a crisis year is taken as the base, it is possible that the flooding of the sphere of circulation with excess money supply may not be detected. Over a long-term period, however, such a tendency will be revealed although in varying degrees depending on the special features of the country in question. For example, neither the United States nor Britain, whose currencies were elevated into the position of reserve currencies by the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944, could adopt a vigorous policy of issuing money in the post-war period. And yet even in those two countries, though not in such a pronounced way as in the countries of Western Europe and Japan, the flooding of the sphere of circulation with excess money did take place. For example, in the United States between 1945 and 1972 the supply of money and sight deposits increased 2.4 times over a period when the national product only doubled. This trend grew still stronger in the 1970s.

Secondly, surely it is incorrect to compare the money supply and gross national product in current prices. In order to abstract from the influence of rising prices on GNP, it is advisable to use a constant-price estimate.

Thirdly, the fact that an increase in the velocity of money is, *ceteris paribus*, equivalent to an additional issue of money should be taken into consideration.

There are consequently no grounds for rejecting the characteristic features of inflation connected with the existence of an excess supply of money in the sphere of circulation in relation to real demand in the economy. Undoubtedly, this must be examined not from the narrowly technical, monetary point of view but from a general economic viewpoint, as the result of contradictions in the process of reproduction. In the final analysis any inflationary factor, whether monetary or non-monetary, is accompanied by an excess of money in circulation.

Inadequate Statistical Techniques

The problem is complicated because statistical techniques for studying inflation have not been sufficiently developed. For a long time it was accepted procedure to compare an increase in the quantity of money with the change in the index of industrial production in order to determine the extent to which the supply of money was in excess. But the industrial output index does not give a complete picture of money demand in the economy since it does not reflect economic processes taking place in agriculture and the services sector.

In my opinion, it would be far better to compare the index of the money supply with that of gross national product even though not all items in the latter serve as the base for issuing money, and a comparison of this type is not always indicative for countries with a major armaments industry. But if the denominator of the coefficient of inflation is changed, then it is also necessary to revise the numerator—the definition of the money supply which usually includes banknotes, cash and sight deposits. Account must be taken of the fact that, in view of the tendency towards a "dematerialisation" of money transactions, many credit liabilities can easily be changed into real money. Since non-cash transactions considerably exceed cash transactions, it would seem that the growth in clearing-bank settlements and a reduction in the demand for money due to its increased velocity should be taken into account.

Some economists, in accentuating general economic factors, tend to somewhat underestimate the role of the monetary mechanism in the growth of inflation. In my view, Usoskin is right to stress the dual role, both active and passive, that money plays in the inflationary mechanism. In this connection it is important for an analysis of inflation to assess the nature of money at the present time.

The "dematerialisation" of money transactions is reinforced in conditions of the state-monopoly socialisation of production when the economic isolation of commodity-producers is being undermined. Attempts have recently been made to present paper money in a modern capitalist economy as a new category of paper money, which is deprived of any gold content but performs the function of a measure of value. It seems to me that, despite serious modifications in its functions, gold still remains the basis of the

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monetary and currency system. It is difficult to agree with Solyus's assertions to the contrary. However, this particular question requires special discussion.

The treatment of money can only lay claim to objectivity if it is based on the principle of the historical continuity of economic categories with due regard for any modifications in them. An explanation of the value of present-day money, using the concept of the representative nature of gold, does not correspond to the real structure of monetary circulation and social reproduction. It is also necessary to link the value basis of money with credit represented by banknotes and cheques.

The functional link between monetary circulation at the present time and the growth rate of reproduction is chiefly made through the issuing of banknotes and cheques as a means of supplying credit to the private sector of the economy. The issuing of money in connection with the supply of bank credit to the state for its military and other non-productive expenditures gives rise to disproportions between the growth rate of the money supply, the volume of reproduction and the sale of goods.

In so far as credit replaces cash, there occurs an active process in which monetary and credit relationships draw closer together and interpenetrate each other. Along with the growth of the credit structure and the swollen increase of fictitious capital and stock exchange transactions, enormous flows of liquid assets easily cut across the boundary between credit and the circulation of money, and this strengthens inflation.

R. ENTOV

Cyclical Price Movements Remain

Rising prices in present-day conditions are due not to any single concrete cause but to a whole series of causes, and it is probably this which is the most essential starting point in an analysis of inflation. There are differences of opinion about what should be called inflation—whether just one of the causes of rising prices, i.e. the flooding of the channels of monetary circulation, or the whole set of factors involved.

The traditional, purely monetary treatment of inflation, according to which enormous budgetary deficits and a fast growth of money supply may appear as the only active cause of price rises, on the whole correctly, in my view, perceived the main features of the inflationary situation that was widespread in the past (although even in this case, as Solyus correctly noted, the characterisation of inflation as a purely monetary phenomenon permits only a very general and superficial picture to be given of the processes that are examined). . . .

For the first time in the history of capitalism, the state-monopoly structure of economic relations makes possible a situation in which the initial impulse towards a high level of prices is generated by a rise in the prices of a whole range of goods which play a key role in the economy. An expansion in the scale of monetary circulation does not anticipate an increase in the general level of prices but accompanies and strengthens it. The objective tendencies towards a rise in the general level of prices and an expansion in the scale of monetary circulation are strengthened by the entire system of state-monopoly measures directed at stimulating economic development.

Theoretical analysis must try to break down the complex processes underlying current price increases and isolate the different factors and mechanisms involved. In some cases, real inflation (a situation in which factors belonging to the sphere of monetary circulation act as the motive force in the general increase in the price level) is opposed to a non-inflationary rise in monopoly prices. Such a distinction is, in my opinion, non-rigorous. . . .

Let us now turn to the experience of post-war "creeping" inflation in the industrially developed capitalist countries. A rise in monopoly prices leading in the final analysis to a general increase in the price level requires (other things being equal) an expansion in the scale of monetary circulation. When Marx analysed the substance of the law governing the circulation of money, he demonstrated that an increase in the general level of prices, given the same volume turnover of goods as previously, can only happen when there is a corresponding expansion in the circulation of money. The latter may take various forms (additional issue of different means of payment, increase in their velocity, or some combination of the two), but it is always an essential condition for a general rise in prices. Inevitably the question arises as to how such an expansion in payments transactions corresponds with the concept of "the flooding of the channels of monetary circulation".

Is it correct in general to oppose private-monopoly (and state-monopoly) regulation of prices on the one hand and the inflationary swelling of monetary circulation on the other? These factors operate "on different levels" and relate to different spheres of the state-monopoly system: they should in no way be regarded as mutually exclusive: in current conditions they normally operate simultaneously and complement one another. How artificial it is to analyse them

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separately becomes strikingly apparent when we turn to the method of calculation used by those who believe in treating them separately in an attempt to distinguish in practice between an "inflationary" and a non-inflationary increase in prices. In order to do this the growth in the quantity of money in circulation is simply compared with the increase in the volume of production. However the critical comments made in regard to such calculations by Krasavina and Usoskin appear to me to be wholly convincing.

"Unilateral Mobility" in Payments Supply

Present-day inflation has been brought into being by the functioning of state-monopoly capitalism, but the state-monopoly structure of economic relations inevitably also includes the system of monetary circulation characterised by the "unilateral mobility" of the supply of means of payment. The existing tendencies towards a steady rise in prices are rooted in the very economic and socio-political structure of modern capitalism and in the particular features of reproduction at the present stage of its general crisis. And when we examine the rise in prices in the United States or West Germany over, say, the first half of the 1960s it is scarcely correct to attribute either a purely active or a purely passive role to money.

In this case cyclical factors, private-monopoly and state-monopoly regulation, on the one hand, and an expansion in the circulation of money on the other, continually change places as forces directly giving rise to price increases and creating conditions "reinforcing" their increase over the whole of the subsequent period.

Supply and demand fluctuations engendered by the development of the capitalist cycle should undoubtedly be included among the objective factors governing the movement of market prices. It is impossible to agree with the assertion that today price movements are no longer cyclical in nature. No one disputes that cyclical price movements have been substantially modified in conditions of monopoly capitalism. It is sufficient to recall that during the last century price falls were usually much more widespread at times of crisis than cutbacks in production.[5]

As early as the beginning of the 20th century a tendency towards a gradual diminution in the extent of the crisis fall in prices could be observed in economically developed capitalist countries. The rate of price increases in the course of the cycle is now far more stable and durable. This is evidently connected, in the first instance, with the rising level of concentration in production and the increasing scope of state-monopoly regulation and, secondly, with the fact that features of the cumulative process have become more and more marked in the development of inflation in recent decades. Nevertheless, the greater the scale of capital accumulation that is emerging, the more distinctly can we see the objective economic factors slowing down the process of rising prices.

Despite all the various modifications the rates of increase in the general level of prices substantially depend to this very day on the operation of cyclical factors, as extremely diverse statistical and economic calculations show. Thus, the end of a depression, an upsurge in economic activity and an intensive growth of production invariably accelerates the increase in the level of prices while the exhaustion of potential in the cyclical upswing sooner or later begins to exercise a restraining influence on price rises.

VALENTINE FEDOROV

Inflation and the Reproduction Process

It is necessary to make a distinction between general inflationary conditions and concrete factors which, operating in and resulting from these conditions, are the immediate cause of the inflationary process. It appears at first as if these factors do not lend themselves to any kind of systematisation. Nevertheless, some kind of grouping is possible. The best idea is to follow through trends in the main components of gross national product, that is, the processes of productive, personal and state consumption, and foreign economic ties. Let us examine each of them separately.

The renewal of basic capital. The growth rate of investment is closely linked with price changes. During the upsurge and expansion of economic activity price increases are pushed up by investment demand. Where does this demand come from, and what form does it take? After all, effective demand by workers and personal consumption are insufficient to cause a leap in output and still less to exceed such an increase, thus creating space for price rises. On the contrary, variable capital is only beginning to be drawn into the production process; that is, it follows on after its expansion. It is precisely in these phases that the lag between the growth rates of wages and profits is at its greatest.

The source of investment demand lies in the colossal expansion of credit institutions, thanks to which firms get hold of liquid loans which are put into circulation without being backed up by a corresponding supply of goods. The fact that bank loans are given against security is only of

[5] See, for example, F. Mills, *Price-Quantity Interactions in Business Cycles*, Princeton, 1946, p. 106.

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significance for the actual partners to the deal; looked at from the macroeconomic point of view, it well describes the essentially inflationary nature of this way of stimulating entrepreneurs' investment activity.

The differences in this field from the gold-standard period are very great. Whereas previously credit was in the final analysis restricted by the regulatory role of gold, now that it has lost all connection with the latter it can assume gigantic dimensions. It is not, of course, unlimited. The dual character of credit can be seen here with great clarity.

On the one hand, it stimulates economic activity; on the other, it unleashes inflation. In other words, economic growth in credit also causes inflation. While it is one of the results of a massive supply of credit to the economy, inflation in turn reinforces the investment boom by stimulating the placing of new investments since the loans drawn for this purpose are subsequently repaid with cheaper money.

Varied Effects of Inflation

However, while it creates a favourable atmosphere for investment and increases the utilisation of existing capacity, and provides some kind of "traction" for production, inflation (besides its other effects) does harm to the economy, though this is only discovered some time later: namely, it produces an irrational distribution and additional over-accumulation of basic capital. Moreover this not infrequently happens in sectors where prospects are poor, since the cyclical upsurge may for a time gloss over or even completely conceal a structural crisis.

The unevenness of investment in different sectors of the economy (for example, new and "dying" ones), which entails an output "boom" in some sectors and a fall in others at one and the same time, also plays a not inconsiderable role in the development of inflation. Owing to monopolisation, prices in the stagnating parts of the economy seldom fall, while a reorientation of demand towards the output of other sectors leads inevitably by virtue of the laws of the capitalist market to a rise in prices. Moreover, if investments are made in new construction rather than reconstruction, they themselves produce inflationary impulses. It takes time to bring investments to the stage of producing output, during which period the expansion of investment demand and consumer demand (increase in the number of employed) is not backed up by a corresponding output of goods.

The development of inflation is also facilitated by the large scale on which shares and other securities representing fictitious capital—which has become immeasurably swollen in comparison with real capital—are being bought and sold, which causes the channels of circulation to be filled with depreciating forms of money. Thus, past changes in the character of investment financing create inflationary conditions. All attempts by the bourgeois state to separate economic growth from inflation are hopeless from the very start. Monetary stability has to be sacrificed so that the economy can make a quick exit from the regularly, cyclically declining state in which modern capitalism finds itself. Inflation has become a concomitant element in the renewal of basic capital.

Wages and Demand

Let us now turn to the following component of GNP. During a period of economic upswing, *wages*, which increase in volume both as more and more workers are brought into production and as a result of an increase in skills, become an active factor in generating demand. The increase in entrepreneurial costs does not at this stage normally lead to a reduction in profits (and consequently cannot, generally speaking, be used by the entrepreneurs even as a formal argument for raising prices): firstly, because general selling conditions are favourable and, secondly, because unit costs have been cut. The latter is due to the fact that the growth of labour productivity tending in the same direction as the change in macroeconomic growth rates is extremely high during this period.

However, when a turning-point is reached in the economic situation, there is a danger that the upward trend in obtaining surplus value will be replaced by a downswing. In this event the monopolies strive hard to maintain their profits at the previous level which, in view of the rise in unit costs, can only be done by raising prices.

The attempt by entrepreneurs and their theoretical apologists to justify the rise in prices by the increase in expenditure on labour (wages) is completely untenable. By this kind of activity capitalism tries to legitimise its appropriation not only of the surplus value but also of part of the necessary product for, despite any increase in wages, they lag behind as regards their level in relation to the value of their labour power. While there can be no doubt that a rise in prices presupposes an increase in wages (subject at least to maintenance of the previous level of consumption), an increase in variable capital should not in any way necessarily raise prices. Mistaken ideas about the link between wages and prices were subjected to detailed criticism in Marx's writings.

While forcing the pace of production during

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the upswing by accumulating at the expense of consuming and thereby bringing economic disproportions to a critical point, the entrepreneurs, when economic activity is falling off, fight against even a partial adjustment to the widening gap in the distribution of income, aggravated by their own activities, and try to frighten all kinds of social groups at the thought of the economic disasters which, they claim, stem from trade union demands for higher wages.

Thus, in opposing demands for higher wages, especially during a period of recession, the entrepreneurs assert that exorbitant wage increases would badly affect their investment capability. For that reason, so they say, they are bound, in order to avoid an "economic collapse", *to have recourse to raising prices. . . .*

TAMARA BELOUS

International Monopolies and Inflation

The inflationary explosion in the capitalist world economy was immediately preceded by a sharp increase in the activity of the transnational and multinational corporations[6] from the mid-1960s on. This fact alone causes one to think about the "contribution" which international corporations make to the development of inflationary processes. . . .

By continually raising prices, these corporations make sure of increasing undistributed profits and amortisation charges which can be used for financing continuously expanding investment. Whereas even 10 or 15 years ago investments and prices increased during periods of expansion and dropped in times of recession, they now show an upward trend in all phases of the capitalist cycle.

This is not only due to increased mobility of international corporations and their greater economic strength and monopoly position on world markets, but primarily to radical changes in the nature of investment. At the beginning of the 1970s, up to 65 per cent of investment in developed capitalist countries was allotted to the automation of production and the improvement of technological processes, while only 35 per cent went on expanding production capacity.[7]

In these conditions the traditional formula for capitalism of "accumulation for the sake of accumulation" acquires a new edge. When a tendency to shift the centre of gravity in the intrasectoral economic situation from the price sphere to the sphere of consumer value, the basic condition for selling output is to introduce new ranges and improve the quality of existing ones. The "investment race" becomes a vital precondition for the firm's survival and its economic growth.

The "all-absorbing" pursuit of new sums of capital forces transnational and multinational concerns to resort to outside finance. With the aim of mobilising additional funds they emerge in international and local money markets in many countries as the biggest recipients of credit. For them inflation is particularly advantageous *since it enables them to pay off their debts with* depreciated money. In West Germany, for example, over the 1951-67 period alone the real indebtedness of private businessmen fell as the result of price increases by 52,000m. DM.[8]

Thanks to inflation which reduces the real value of loans, the international corporations are not only able to write off the interest payments on credit they have received but are able to increase their total profits, thus ensuring a flow of new capital funds. The expansionist strategy adopted by these corporations, by stimulating an expansion in the volume of credit extended to them by banks in a whole number of countries, forces the creation of new credit in these countries and in this way an inflationary increase in the money supply.

The enormous demand for capital made by the multinational corporations does not stem only from the need to finance production, research and sales operations. The strategy of these corporations includes the buying-up of rival enterprises in the country in which the parent company is located and abroad, the curtailment of financial risks by acquiring or increasing the number of shares held, and counteracting in various ways penetration by rivals into profitable new sectors of the economy. This compels them to have vast liquid assets readily available. At the beginning of the 1970s these funds were rather more than double the total reserves held by central banks in the capitalist countries and international monetary organisations.[9]

Trusts and concerns operating on a world scale switch their liquid funds from one country to another in response to the strengthening or weakening of currencies and governmental

[6] We divide all trusts and concerns operating on a world-wide scale into "transnational" (controlled by capitalists belonging to one country) and "multinational" (controlled by capitalists from several countries). Together they are denoted by the term "international corporations".

[7] *Capital, Inflation and the Multinationals*, C. Levinson, London, 1971, p. 38.

[8] *Horizont*, No. 31, 1974, p. 9.

[9] See, *Implications of Multinational Firms for World Trade and Investment and for U.S. Trade and Labour*, Washington, 1973, pp. 8-9, 541.

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measures against inflation (credit restrictions, increases in nominal interest rates, etc.). When these free assets enter a country, they pour into its monetary circulation. As a result, inflationary processes become even stronger in the "host" countries.

(The above extracts have been collated, edited and translated by Jenny Warren. Sergei Dalin, Lydia Krasavina, R. Entov and Tamara Velous are on the staff of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations. Professor Alexandra Eidelant occupies the chair of Money and Credit at the Plekhanov Institute of National Economy, Moscow. George Solyus teaches at the Moscow Finance Institute. Valentine Fedorov is on the staff of the journal World Economic and International Relations.)

Document:

Draft of the French Communist Party's "Declaration of Liberties"

The French Communist Party held a press conference on May 15, 1975, on its draft "Declaration of Liberties" which it has submitted for discussion to all citizens and all working people.

At it Georges Marchais said, inter alia*:*

"We have invited you to this press conference in order to acquaint you with an important initiative taken by our party, namely the publication of a draft 'Declaration of Liberties'.

"Our aim is to work towards the adoption of a Declaration of Rights and Liberties which will be placed at the beginning of the Constitution of the French Republic and which will outline the general principles on which are based the rights and liberties actually desired and prevailing in our country, those which have already been proclaimed during the course of past struggles and a number of new liberties which reflect the necessities and possibilities of our time.

"Such a Declaration will constitute a precious foundation, a solid frame of reference for all those who work in support of liberty. . . ."

WHY THIS DRAFT?

The fight for a way of life which will be ever more free is an essential feature of human history. The progression is endless. Our epoch allows it to be speeded up. It can be brought about only by the peoples' struggle, animated by an ever more exact knowledge of the real conditions for social change.

Because Communism represents the highest phase of human emancipation, because as from now, this perspective implies continuous battle by the working class and popular forces for the widest possible democracy, Communists have from the very beginning been the partisans and artisans of the defence of freedoms, of the winning by the people of the greatest possible number of rights.

Governed in the exclusive interests of a few groups of industrialists and financiers, and not in the interests of the people and the nation, France is living through a serious crisis. This crisis of French society is also a crisis for freedom.

A system of repressive laws is a permanent threat to democracy and the rights of the individual. Freedom, for our rulers, is good only to serve as an alibi and an ornament to adorn the façades of our public buildings. In reality freedom, like reason and knowledge, terrifies them.

The coming to power of Giscard d'Estaing has reinforced the authoritarian character of the state, by confirming its subordination to the dictates of money. Freedom, confronted by exploitation, inequalities, discrimination, becomes a meaningless word for almost the entire population.

We accuse the capitalist régime not only of being incapable of giving the new impetus to freedom which the times demand, but also of compromising and mutilating the irreplaceable heritage of fundamental rights which for so long has made France a land of liberty in the eyes of the world. State monopoly capitalism constitutes an expression in concentrated form of this basic tendency to deny, mutilate and deny these free-

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doms to almost every member of our society.

We accuse our rulers of threatening the right to work, as well as the exercise of individual and collective rights in our places of work. Growing unemployment, employers' authoritarianism, violation of trade union rights, acts of violence and intimidation, sackings and redundancies—even naked repression by the police force—are so many concrete characteristics of a régime which subordinates the lives of human beings to the accumulation of profit.

We accuse them of conducting a policy of social segregation and selection in every sphere.

We accuse them of putting obstacles in the way of a real social, political, educational and personal liberation of women.

We accuse them of permitting the incitement of racial hatred, of trying to divide the working class by setting French workers against immigrant workers, although these are subjected to the same exploitation and together contribute to increasing the social wealth.

We accuse our rulers of excluding the creators of all our wealth—the workers, technicians, scientists, peasants—from decisions which involve them collectively, of denying them participation in and control by the community.

We accuse our rulers of threatening the right to property of the peasant who has been driven from his land, of the small shopkeeper bankrupted by inflation.

We accuse them of bolstering up a bureaucratic state machine subordinated more and more to the interests of the principal financial and industrial groups.

We accuse them of keeping an iron grip on the radio and television, which they treat as tools of official propaganda. As for the freedom of the press, smothered by the domination of a few capitalist groups, its range has been greatly diminished. Since 1945 more than 200 newspapers have disappeared, and the democratic press is victim of ever-mounting difficulties.

A New Content Must Be Given To Democracy

Because progressive thinking calls for free thinking, because creative development demands freedom of expression and the diffusion of creative works and ideas, we accuse our rulers of mutilating the possibilities of creation, the right to culture and to acquiring knowledge.

To the material obstacles which have to be faced by creative workers and thinkers must be added the fetters of a hypocritical, alienating system of censorship.

It all goes to prove that under this régime democracy can never be other than restricted, compressed, mutilated—and the liberal image which the President would like to give to his policies could not even create this illusion. All these systematic attacks, as insidious as they are continuous, effectively betray the contempt with which people are held by a system which is dominated by the profits of the monopolies.

In fact, the increase in the exploitation, inequalities and restrictions engendered by this society is not a matter of guesswork. It is exposing to the light of day the deep underlying workings of state monopoly capitalism and its class nature.

The popular masses, by their day-to-day actions, must and can force this régime to make concessions. But since its first priority is to satisfy the demands of high finance, it is incapable of developing freedom of any kind whatsoever in itself.

Therefore it is time to give a new content to democracy and freedom, in order to make them a living reality. Because it is by the action taken by the men and women of our country to liberate themselves from exploitation, frustrations and restrictions that freedom will be won.

Historically, the common freedoms which exist —for which the bourgeoisie incorrectly takes credit for having fathered—are the fruits of the struggle of the people and workers. Without this struggle political life and republican freedoms would never have become what they are in France.

Communists are the heirs of the popular democratic movement which for two centuries past has made it possible to widen the field of freedom in our country. Their attachment to these liberties is a fundamental guarantee of their progress.

Because the French Communist Party represents the working masses, because it has always fought to suppress all forms of exploitation and enslavement, it is moved by a spirit of determination to develop democracy to the utmost, step by step.

Freedom cannot confine itself to the right to protest alone. In its concrete historical context, it is the opportunity for every man and every woman to develop his or her capacities, to organise his or her life, in a society which has done away with class exploitation. It is the opportunity for people as a whole to become masters of their own destiny and to take the initiative in every sector of social life.

In order to accomplish this liberation it must, in our epoch, break with class society, in which workers are treated as mere instruments for the advancement of capital.

To establish a socialist society, in which each one will be able to make use of his or her

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capacities, and in which all the talents inherent in the people as a whole will be revealed—it is for this that the French Communist Party exists.

Our party rejects every fatalist concept, every kind of mechanistic determinism, of "voluntarism". The class struggle, and the conscious intervention of the workers, armed with a knowledge of the laws of economic and social movement, constitute the motive force of all emancipation.

The Masses—Makers of History

Therefore the people will never win socialism if their liberties are confiscated. In a real democracy, which will be the work of the people themselves, there will be no possible advance to socialism without the free adherence of individuals and their active participation in every aspect of social life, without the continuous development of new forms and new contents of democracy, without the defence of the people's conquests. It is the masses who, in the given conditions, make history and create their own freedom.

This is why Communists consider adherence to their ideas and their conception of the world as a conscious act, stemming from experience of the class struggle, of free reflection and discussion, to the exclusion of all restraints, imposed uniformity, and any kind of obscurantism.

Was it not through the initiatives of the Popular Front that the workers won new rights? When the Communist Party participated in the government not only did no law which put freedom in jeopardy see the light of day, but there was a new upsurge in democratic life: universal suffrage extended to women, unprecedented development of the press, the organisation of social security, important nationalisations—these were some of the conquests which characterised the Liberation.

The French Communist Party, making their own these words of Marx, "A nation which oppresses other nations will never itself be free", has always fought for the liberties of other nations—against fascism and imperialism, against every form of colonial repression.

The present crisis in capitalist society makes the putting into operation of the left's "Common Programme" more urgent than ever—in the essential sphere of freedoms as in all the others. The democratisation of social life which it presupposes would create a combination of circumstances necessary for a further development of freedom.

Political and economic democracy are in fact inseparable. A true democracy, an expansion not only of formal liberties but also of real ones, requires that in our epoch the main economic levers, the control of which determines the social system and consequently the destiny of individuals, are taken out of the hands of a tiny minority of financial feudalists and handed over to the nation itself.

It requires a social policy on a grand scale, which will benefit the whole nation, and be drawn up and controlled by the people. Reciprocally, the enlargement of freedom is indispensable in order that the workers, the ordinary citizens, can make their voice heard, conquer their just rights, take their destiny into their own hands.

The union of the people of France around the Common Programme is therefore both the guarantee and the necessary prerequisite of making liberty a living reality, for defending it against the attacks of those who wish to perpetuate an unjust and oppressive society, and in order to create the conditions for further advance. This is the reason why, on the basis of the Common Programme, we have drawn up the present draft of a Bill to incorporate a "Declaration of Freedoms".

DRAFT BILL INCORPORATING A "DECLARATION OF FREEDOMS"

The Preamble of the Constitution—modified by the framework set by the Common Programme for Government—would be re-drafted as follows:

DECLARATION OF FREEDOMS

The French people, faithful to the principles laid down by the Declarations of 1789 and 1793, completed by the Constitution of 1946, principles which are irreplaceable for the democratic working class movement, solemnly declares that every human being possesses irrevocable rights and is resolved to inscribe them at the head of its Constitution.

Liberty and democracy are a continuous process of creation. The present Declaration must contribute to creating the conditions for the further advancement of liberties, so as to enable each individual to give expression to his personality, to make the best use of his sense of social responsibilities and his right to happiness.

The Republic guarantees to every man and woman on French soil the individual and collective right to the following freedoms, which constitute the general principles of law.

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I INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE FREEDOMS

Article 1

Every human being is born and remains free and equal in law. Every form of segregation and discrimination must be fought.

Article 2

Women have equal rights with men in every sphere. Any kind of sex discrimination is prohibited and punishable by law. The Republic takes the necessary steps to eliminate inequalities and to assure the advancement of women.

Article 3

Everyone is entitled to respect for his way of life, his personality and his physical well-being.

The law gives protection against any arbitrary confinement in a mental institution. No one can be placed therein against his will. In exceptional cases where a doctor is obliged to order confinement against the will of the person concerned, by reason of his distressed condition or where people's lives are endangered, he must immediately inform the judicial authority. This authority must confirm or annul the decision with the least possible delay. It must make a decision on any opposition which may be brought at any time by the person concerned, the doctor or any other person.

Article 4

No French citizen can be banished or deprived of his nationality.

Article 5

Anyone persecuted on account of his activity in the cause of freedom has the right of asylum on French territory and in the status of political refugee.

Article 6

Foreigners residing in France enjoy the same common freedoms and benefit from the same economic, social and educational rights as those of French citizens.

Their expulsion and extradition can only be by decision of the judicial authority.

Extradition of a foreigner for political reasons is forbidden.

Article 7

Every citizen has the right to come and go without restriction on national territory, to choose his home and to freely cross the frontiers.

Article 8

Private life is protected. It is forbidden to threaten its intimacy, in particular by instruments of surveillance from the outside. The home is inviolable.

Article 9

The confidentiality of letters, of all means of communication and of telephone conversations is inviolable.

Article 10

It is forbidden to gather information on anyone's private life without his consent, other than in exceptional cases pre-determined by law. Such information must in no case be used for other ends than those which have been agreed by the person concerned, or pre-determined by law. Every citizen has the right of access to the files registered in his name, of contesting the contents and of being informed of their utilisation. Information-gathering must be at the service of the citizens and must not threaten their liberties and their private lives. The law prescribes the appropriate guarantees and means of control.

Article 11

Freedom of opinion, freedom of expression, and freedom to receive or communicate information or ideas, may be exercised without any possibility of restrictions being imposed by the authorities. No one may be restrained or prevented from expressing an opinion or making it public.

No one may be caused anxiety, or lose favour, on account of his origins, or his opinions and convictions in religious, philosophic or political matters.

Article 12

Everyone has the right of freedom of conscience and religion. This right implies the freedom to make known his religion or convictions, individually or collectively, in public or in private, and to act in every sphere of life in conformity with his chosen beliefs.

The churches and all other associations of believers or philosophical bodies are to enjoy the freedom necessary for their activities. They can dispose of their properties, furnished or unfurnished, of their published works and newspapers, and any other means of diffusing their ideas, as well as train ministers of their cult.

Places of worship are inviolable. The forces of public order may not go into them without the express authorisation of ministers of the cult. Freedom of conscience and religion is guaranteed by the neutrality of the state with regard to every believer, every cult, every philosophy, and in particular by the separation of Church

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and state, the lay character of the public authorities and of national education.

Article 13

Racial and anti-Semitic discrimination is forbidden.

Forbidden and severely punishable under Penal Law are provocation and discrimination, hatred or violence, defamation and slander, refusal of the benefit of any entitlement by a custodian of the public authority or by a citizen charged with any public service, refusal to provide goods or services, refusal to engage or terminate the employment of a person or group of persons by reason of their belonging to a particular racial group, nation, race or religion.

Article 14

The right to demonstrate on the public highway and the right to meet are guaranteed to all.

Article 15

Freedom to set up associations without prior authorisation is guaranteed. No one is to be obliged to affiliate to an association.

Article 16

Any individual or any group of persons has the right to present a petition, verbally or in writing, to the public authorities, calling for the examination of any problem, or proposing the adoption of a by-law or a ruling.

Article 17

Activities of the political parties are to conform with freely expressed universal suffrage, and as laid down by national policy.

Parties and political groups may be formed and freely engage in activities, whether they support the government or are in opposition to it.

The right of political parties to speak and to organise at places of work to be recognised and guaranteed.

Article 18

The Republic has the duty not to tolerate corruption by money or by violence. Movements which make use of armed violence or call for its use to be banned.

II ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS

Article 19

The right to work shall be a fundamental right. The public authorities shall be responsible for guaranteeing it by taking the measures required to abolish unemployment and underemployment, and to ensure that no dismissal shall take place without alternative employment being previously provided by the firm concerned or by the state. The public authorities alone shall be responsible for finding jobs for those seeking employment.

Each person shall have the right to follow the occupation of his or her choice in accordance with his or her qualifications. Any discrimination in recruitment or at work, based on birth, family situation, opinions or beliefs, sex or age, is forbidden.

Each person shall have the right to benefit from vocational training and for retraining during the course of his or her working life.

Each person shall have the right to a remuneration corresponding to the quality and the quantity of his or her work.

The law shall protect workers against all hazards to health or life. It shall guarantee safety at work, with the widest participation of those concerned and their representatives. Victims of industrial accidents and diseases shall be entitled to full compensation.

Article 20

Lock-outs shall be forbidden: the law forbids any partial or complete closure of a workplace by the employer as a means of pressure or sanction, and any arbitrary denial of employment by the employers.

Article 21

The law guarantees equal pay between men and women for equal work or for work of equal value and this shall be supervised by commissions including workers' representatives.

The law shall punish all forms of discrimination against women in obtaining access to vocational training or posts of responsibility.

Article 22

Liberty of opinion and expression shall be guaranteed to all workers in both the public and private sectors, whatever their occupation, position or nationality.

No reference shall be made in a personal dossier to the political, trade union, philosophical or religious opinions of any worker or official.

Article 23

The exercise of a role of authority in a workplace shall not in any circumstances restrict technical and managerial staffs in exercising their trade union rights and their right to be represented.

The law forbids the use of technical and managerial staffs to bring to bear on subordinates pressures contrary to the exercise of

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trade union rights and freedoms of opinion, or to provide the management with information on the opinions or activities of subordinates in political, trade union, philosophical or religious matters.

Article 24

Each worker shall have the right to be informed in advance of any decision affecting him or her.

He or she shall have the right to discuss with the management any plans it may have affecting him or her. He or she may be assisted in this by a trade union or other representative.

Article 25

Each person may defend his or her rights and interests through trade union activity. Each person shall be free to join a trade union of his or her choice or not to join any trade union.

The law punishes any discrimination based on trade union membership or activity. It guarantees unions the freedom to establish themselves and to function normally, as well as complete and free access to sources of economic and social information.

The independence of trade unions, *vis-à-vis* employers, the state and parties shall be guaranteed.

The law recognises the rights of technical and managerial staffs to be represented by their own trade union organisations.

The law guarantees every wage-earner the right to hold elective office or to be a union delegate. The work of any such person shall be reduced in proportion to his or her union duties, or a replacement shall be provided. Anybody so elected must also be able to carry on his or her job without any form of discrimination.

Article 26

The law grants trade union branches in a workplace the means to function normally, whatever the number of employees. It allows the collection of union dues and the distribution of trade union publications at the workplace and during working hours. It assures union branches a certain number of hours paid by the employer for this purpose. It assures them the possibility to assemble all or part of the personnel in the workplace during working hours.

Article 27

The right to strike shall be recognised unconditionally.

Nobody may force any person to renounce his or her right to strike. Any form of remuneration liable to obstruct or hinder the exercising of the right to strike is forbidden. In cases of deadlock concerning the back-payment of wages for the duration of a strike, the tribunals shall be empowered to enforce this payment in case of default by the employer.

In the event of a strike, no member of the technical and managerial staff, whether striker or non-striker, may be obliged to do work of any nature, or to bring pressure upon subordinates not to participate in a strike.

Article 28

The public authorities shall ensure that work, in public and private enterprises, is carried out in conditions excluding all forms of physical or moral violence, surveillance or informing. All private police systems are forbidden. The regulations concerning the internal management of the workplace, including disciplinary measures, shall be negotiated with the trade unions and submitted for the consideration of the representatives of the personnel.

Article 29

Workers shall freely elect their representatives, in public and private workplaces, by means of secret ballot and proportional representation, from the lists of candidates put forward by the representative trade union organisations.

All information coming from the management shall be communicated to the elected representatives of the personnel prior to its being issued to the personnel.

Representatives of the personnel may report back to meetings of the personnel at the workplace and during working hours.

With the exception of trade secrets, there shall be no commitment to secrecy on the part of the workers' elected representatives which interferes with their freedom to carry out their duties.

Article 30

The question of closure or dismissal, individual or collective, must be submitted to the work's committee. This committee may defer implementation of any such decision to allow for negotiations as well as consultations with the municipal, departmental or regional councils, for as long as the employees in question have not been given suitable alternative and equivalent work.

Article 31

The work's committee must receive all information concerning the functioning of the enterprise, its production, its finances, its production costs, its social policy, its connections with subsidiaries or with other French or foreign firms,

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its place in the national and international economy, its short and long-term plans. It shall have permanent and free access to all the documents in possession of the management.

In the interest of the personnel or the nation as a whole, the work's committee may ask the management to re-examine, prior to implementation, any question of restructuring, movement of personnel, change in working conditions, investment, opening of new plants, mergers, changes in shareholding, takeovers. The committee may annul a decision where it has not been informed beforehand.

Article 32

All works' committees shall receive from the management funds to ensure their normal functioning. They shall also receive a social budget whose minimum level is fixed by law.

In addition, works' subsidies laid down by law or collective bargaining, concerning employees' housing, health at work and continued training, shall be placed in the hands of the work's committee which may dispose of them as it wishes. The work's committee shall have complete independence in organising these social activities.

The work's committee shall have at its disposal special resources for the creation of an economic studies unit placed under its control. It may call upon the assistance of a chartered accountant in any workplace without exception.

Central works' committee shall be set up in groups and holding companies. They shall receive the consolidated accounts, as well as all essential management documents.

Workers who are not elected to works' committees but who spend time on special commissions of this committee shall be paid as for normal working time.

Article 33

Parity organisations in the public service and joint committees in the nationalised sector shall have means and powers at their disposal at least equivalent to those enjoyed by works' committees in the private sector.

Article 34

Every wage-earner shall be free to argue his or her case freely and without delay before the conciliation board.

Every wage-earner shall have the right, regardless of age and place, and with the minimum of formalities, to participate in the election of conciliation boards. The state shall provide the material means required to create an adequate number of conciliation boards and to rationalise their structure.

Article 35

Every person who, by reason of age, physical or mental condition or because of the economic situation, is unable to work shall have the right to obtain from the state adequate resources as fixed by law, and to benefit from social security.

The social security system shall be managed democratically by elected councils of administration.

Article 36

Each person shall have the right, freely and without discrimination, to health protection and to benefit from preventive measures, and to facilities of care and rehabilitation, which are the result of scientific and technical progress.

Medical confidentiality, the doctor's right to prescribe as he deems necessary and the patient's right to choose his or her own doctor shall be guaranteed.

Article 37

The Republic shall create the conditions required to ensure the ending of all discrimination against young people, for equality of opportunity, the realisation for all of the right to knowledge, to employment, to an occupation and the full exercise by young people of their responsibilities in society.

Article 38

The Republic shall take the measures required to ensure the full and free development of the family and the child. With this aim, it will develop the appropriate social services. These measures shall benefit children born out of marriage and non-married couples without any discrimination.

The value of social benefits, of food allowances and of life annuities shall be guaranteed by being related to the retail price index.

Parents shall be involved in the organisation of all institutions concerned with child care and education.

The law assumes equality of husband and wife in the exercise of parental authority and in dealing with family interests.

Article 39

Men and women shall benefit from the social and cultural conditions required for the full development of their sexuality and control over the planning and upbringing of their families.

Abortion, allowed by law, shall be a medical provision reimbursed by social security.

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Article 40

The right to divorce shall be an individual liberty guaranteed by the law. The law shall especially look after the legitimate interests of any children.

Article 41

The Republic shall ensure that elderly people have the right to live with dignity. It guarantees them the economic, social and cultural rights corresponding to their needs, and an adequate pension. It shall seek to benefit from their experience.

Article 42

The law acknowledges the same rights for physically or mentally handicapped people as for all other people, and assures them in every domain and at every age the appropriate means for their protection, for the fullest development of their abilities and for their integration into society.

Any person suffering from a handicap that diminishes his or her capacity to manage his or her affairs shall benefit from the assistance of the public services for this management.

Article 43

All taxes shall be determined by law.

The law gives all citizens, in matters of taxation, every guarantee against arbitrary decisions.

All citizens shall have the right to be informed of the use made of public funds.

Article 44

The right to a home shall be a fundamental right. It shall be guaranteed by a generalised protection of the rights of all tenants and by the creation of an adequate number of dwellings supplied by social authorities.

Tenants are to be associated with the elaboration of regulations guaranteeing the security of their rights and the fixing of their rents and other charges as well as in the management of housing estates.

Those buying their houses to be guaranteed real control over their property and its efficient protection.

No one should be compelled to pay rents which, in any form, exceed the percentage of income laid down by law.

Article 45

Town planning shall be at the service of the people and not of financial interests.

The collective formulation of planning projects and of the balance between population, housing and social and cultural facilities shall be assured by the people's elected representatives, with the participation of the population and of all organisations concerned.

Article 46

Private property shall be guaranteed. Nobody may be arbitrarily deprived of his or her property.

Each person has the right to obtain ownership of property through work and saving. The public authorities shall guarantee a fair return on and the stability of the purchasing power of all savings.

Nobody may be expropriated unless it is in the public interest as legally established and under conditions of fair and previously arranged compensation fixed in accordance with the law by tribunals on which representatives of those concerned shall be represented.

Article 47

The law guarantees the transfer of private property through inheritance.

Estate duty on inheritances shall be progressive. No duty is paid on small inheritances and modest gifts.

Article 48

Private ownership of land shall be guaranteed.

The rights of farmers and peasants shall be protected by a special Act. The law shall facilitate their accession to ownership of the land they work.

Every person who works the land shall be guaranteed a minimum income.

Those who live in rural areas shall be guaranteed access to proper social and cultural facilities.

Article 49

The law guarantees the existence of co-operatives and mutual benefit societies. It shall aid and encourage their development.

Article 50

The law guarantees the role of self-employed workers, of the liberal professions, of small and medium-sized industrial, commercial and craft businesses.

Article 51

Nationalisations shall be decided by law.

The property of the nationalised enterprises shall be inalienable. The profit from their activity must come to the nation as a whole. Their resources may not be diverted for the benefit of private profit.

Nationalised enterprises shall be self-managing. They shall be directed by a managerial board whose composition ensures the widest possible

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participation of the workers in all decision-making.

In nationalised enterprises, the works' committees and similar bodies shall have especially broad terms of reference. They shall be obligatorily associated with the drawing up, implementation and control of all aims concerning production and investment. They shall dispose of a right of veto on questions related to working conditions and to personnel.

Article 52

The national economy shall be planned with the widest participation of workers, and of the population generally, at all levels. Democratic planning shall have as its aim the harmonious functioning of the economy in order to satisfy individual and collective needs and to ensure a balanced development of all regions. The realisation of the plan is placed under the responsibility of the elected assemblies.

III THE RIGHTS TO CULTURE AND INFORMATION

Article 53

Culture, which is inseparable from liberty, tends to guarantee the fulfilment of each individual person, the advance of the nation and the development of human relations. It must be available to all and the means for its development must be provided.

The right to information is guaranteed.

Article 54

Everyone has the right to education. The state education system is the public service responsible for ensuring this right.

Public and secular education is free at all levels and in every aspect. It rejects all forms of social segregation. It is rendered accessible through material assistance to all who need it to pursue their studies.

State education teaches no official philosophy. The teachers' duty is to explain the main currents of thought, to help students to understand scientific knowledge, to raise fundamental questions and to compare different viewpoints.

The representatives of the state education staff, the parents of students, of the young people, play their part in the direction and the working of the public service which they administer democratically.

Trade union rights are accorded to students and pupils. The independence of universities is guaranteed.

Article 55

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure and must have access to the practice of physical, sporting and open-air activities.

Article 56

The Republic guarantees the protection of the natural environment and its development to satisfy the needs of the population without discrimination.

It takes the necessary measures for the protection of the flora and fauna, for the preservation of the countryside, for assuring free access to beauty-spots, for the elimination of nuisances due to noise, pollution and everything else that spoils the living environment.

Article 57

Freedom of scientific, literary and artistic creation is guaranteed to all by the abolition of all forms of censorship and precensorship.

Everyone is free to speak, write, print, edit, publish, broadcast and to exhibit. The rights of authors, translators and inventors are guaranteed.

Article 58

Freedom of scientific investigation and publication is a condition for progress in research.

Scientific workers play a direct part in the democratic administration of the departments of study, decision-making and control in the field of research.

Article 59

The right of regional and special cultures to exist and develop is guaranteed.

State education assures for all the mastery of French, the national language, and organises the teaching of regional languages in accordance with the actual situation and needs.

State education guarantees to immigrant workers and their children the promotion of their native culture.

Article 60

Freedom of the press is guaranteed.

This guarantee extends equally to the administrative, judicial and fiscal regulation of the press as to everything necessary to ensure its independence from the power of money.

A statute for journalists guarantees their freedom of conscience and expression.

Article 61

Radio broadcasting and television are a public service and the property of the nation.

Their task is to meet contemporary needs for information, culture and leisure, to increase the knowledge and develop the initiative and the

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responsibilities of citizens, especially in the political, economic and social spheres.

They have to achieve their task of supplying information while guaranteeing the expression and the confrontation of currents of opinion. The main currents of thought, the political parties and the trade union and professional organisations have the right to regular broadcasting time. The right of reply is guaranteed.

Radio broadcasts and television, in the course of their transmissions, contribute to the spread of culture as well as to the support of creativity and research.

IV POLITICAL RIGHTS AND THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

Article 62

Sovereignty belongs to the people. It is one and indivisible, indefeasible and inalienable. No section of the people, no individual, can take away the people's right to the exercise of their sovereignty.

Article 63

Every measure that tends to reduce or suppress the influence of the power of money over political, economic and social life, contributes to the effective exercise of the rights and liberties enunciated in this Declaration.

Article 64

Every citizen has the right to effective participation in the elaboration, the execution and control of decisions in every sphere of life—political, economic, social and cultural.

The right of citizens to participate is guaranteed:

— by the democratic election of all organs of power and by the right of each citizen to elect and be elected to them.

— by the association of everyone interested in the activity of these organs and in general in the various processes of planning, direction and management of social life.

— by the extension of workers' rights in enterprises.

— by the possibility granted to everyone, individually or collectively, to express their opinions, to make known their demands, to present directly their proposals and criticisms to every political, economic, administrative and social organ and institution.

— and in general by the effective exercise of the totality of rights and freedoms enunciated in the present Declaration.

It is the duty of the Republic to encourage citizens to exercise their social and political rights.

Article 65

Law is the expression of the will of the people.

The drawing up of the law by the elected representatives of the people takes the form of a consultation in order to establish a living and permanent democracy.

The law is the same for all. It guarantees to all the exercise of the liberties written into the present Declaration and cannot infringe them.

Article 66

The regular organisation of elections by universal, free, equal and secret suffrage enables the people to express their judgement of the activity of the elected and the work of the government and to determine democratically and in full sovereignty the policy of the nation.

Respect for the verdict of universal suffrage is imperative for my government.

Article 67

Proportional representation, the electoral system that ensures the exact representation of the electors, constitutes a condition for the democratic functioning of institutions.

Article 68

Members of Parliament and local assemblies enjoy an immunity corresponding to their mandate.

Article 69

The territorial collectivities which are the communes, departments and regions are freely self-administered in conformity with the law.

They are administered by councils elected by direct, universal suffrage. The execution of the decisions of these councils is assured by the mayor or the president elected from among their members.

The government representatives are responsible for checking *a posteriori* the legality of their decisions.

The autonomy of the territorial collectives is assured by a large-scale decentralisation. They are associated in the drawing up and the carrying out of the national plan.

The elected councils assure a co-ordination between the economic, social and cultural activities of the commune, the department and the region.

The elected councils inform and consult the populations and the associations concerned. Everyone has the right to express an opinion on the problems of the territorial collectivities and to participate in their management.

The elected councils have financial, admini-

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strative and technical means to meet the needs of the population.

Those elected locally and regionally are guaranteed by statute their rights and the means to carry out their mandate.

No territorial collectivity can be organised on the basis of a special status derogatory to common law.

Inter-communal co-operation ensures, with the agreement of the populations, the evolution of the communal structures.

Article 70

The fundamental rights and guarantees of the public authorities belong to the legislative sphere. They are ensured by a general statute of civil servants providing for the effective participation of civil servants in the running of the administration. The statute has a general scope covering the whole public authority and all categories of staff assigned to permanent state duties. Civil servants enjoy all the rights of every wage-earner and citizen.

Article 71

In their relations with the administration, citizens are guaranteed against arbitrary treatment. They are associated in the functioning of the services which they use.

The administration can take no unfavourable decision against anyone without having previously informed them of its intention, without having provided them with access to their file and without allowing them to present their observations or organise their defence. The reasons for the decision must be stated.

Administrative documents and files must be accessible to all citizens, except in cases specified by law.

When the administration inflicts damage through committing a mistake or infringing the notion of equality, it must make amends to the victim.

The administration is subject to the control of independent administrative jurisdictions; it is bound to carry out their decisions.

Article 72

The police is a public service instituted to guarantee liberties, the protection of property and the safety of the individual.

It must remain permanently at the service of the people.

The law defines the tasks of the police and the authorities to whom these tasks are entrusted.

The police personnel are subject to the general statute of the public administration.

Government representatives exercise no power in the matter of judiciary police.

In the departments and communes the elected assemblies and their executives work together in matters concerning respect for republican order and the security of the population. A public fund is set up to indemnify victims of crimes and misdemeanours.

Article 73

The army is at the service of the whole nation.

As an instrument for the national defence the duty of the army is to ensure the protection of the national territory against all aggression from outside. It is not to be used against the liberty of any people nor against the liberties of the French people.

The control of the nation over its military apparatus is ensured from the economic point of view by the nationalisation of the armament industries.

The determination of military policy by Parliament and parliamentary control ensures the subordination of military power to political power. An organic law defines the general organisation of national defence.

The basis of recruitment to the army is conscription. Military service is universal and equal for all.

All members of the military forces enjoy the rights of citizens. Democratic statutes guarantee soldiers and officers on active service and in reserve the right to information and freedom of expression and association. Members of the armed forces have the right to join the political party of their choice and to carry out duties and responsibilities therein.

All harassment and corporal punishment is a crime. Every member of the military forces has the right, if he considers himself the victim of such treatment, to immediate communication with his family, an elected representative or a lawyer.

Conscientious objectors are excused from military instruction and the use of arms. Their service consists in work or tasks of public utility. They are neither penalised nor favoured as compared with other young people carrying out their military service.

Article 74

The foreign policy of the Republic aims at assuring the right to peace for every individual and every people.

Article 75

In conformity with the principle of self-determination proclaimed in Article One of the

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United Nations Charter the peoples of the overseas departments and territories enjoy the freedom to determine their status.

V JUDICIAL GUARANTEES

Article 76

No one may be proceeded against, arrested or detained except in cases prescribed by law and in accordance with the forms laid down by law.

Every person, immediately on arrest, must be brought before a judge who decides, after having heard him in the presence of a lawyer, whether to set him free or to continue to detain him and also on the procedure to be taken against him. Personal surveillance and the procedure of *délit* are abolished.

The normal procedure is for the accused to be left at liberty: temporary detention is the exception. The reasons for temporary detention must be specifically stated. The law fixes the period beyond which the accused must be automatically set free. Every unjustified temporary detention will provide grounds for compensation at the expense of the state.

No house may be searched without a judge's warrant and in the presence of the accused, assisted by a lawyer. House searches by night are forbidden.

Every arbitrary detention or arrest is punishable under the penal law. Unnecessary force in arresting a person or in keeping him in detention, all moral pressure, ill-treatment, brutality used against the accused, especially in the course of interrogation, are similarly punishable.

Torture is a crime.

Those who carry out, or cause to be carried out, any acts in violation of these rules do so on their own responsibility and will be punished.

Article 77

No one may be judged or punished except under a law promulgated and published previous to the punishable act.

Every arrested person is presumed innocent until he has been declared guilty by a definitive decision.

Anyone likely to remain under suspension of participating in incriminating acts has the right to the assistance of a lawyer during any hearing.

The investigating magistrate must state the grounds for his decisions and these decisions may be appealed against.

Article 78

Penalties are personal and proportionate to the gravity of the offence and must take into account the personal character of the person committing the offence.

They can only be established by law. All collective responsibility in penal matters is forbidden.

The deprivation of liberty must be regarded as the ultimate sanction. Penalties other than imprisonment or fines may be pronounced as the main penalty under the terms of the penal law without such penalties diminishing or infringing the condemned man's fundamental rights to a greater extent than would have been the case had he been deprived of his liberty. With each new classification of the condemned person the tribunal must, in accordance with the penal law and after adjournment if necessary, exempt the person found guilty from the penalty.

Where the breach of the law is of an occasional character, or if, in the estimation of the tribunal, the accused person is unlikely to relapse, it may substitute a simple warning for the penal punishment.

Penalties that take away or restrict a person's liberty must aim at the re-education and the social rehabilitation of the condemned person, which excludes the idea of life-imprisonment. All who indulge in harassment, discrimination, cruelty, treatment which goes beyond the legal penalty applicable, will be held personally and penally responsible for their actions.

The death penalty is abolished.

The penal system, whenever possible, is to be the open jail system.

Arbitrary eviction, house detention, administrative internment are forbidden.

No one may be punished twice for the same offence.

Article 79

In order to facilitate the social rehabilitation of the condemned person, local banishment is abolished.

The police file must not be allowed to hinder the professional and social reinstatement of people who have served their sentence. Reports delivered to administrations and to employers will only mention the sentences specially defined by law so that the employment suffers no discrimination.

Amnesty and rehabilitation ensure the right to the striking out of the sentences and restrictions which result from them.

There shall be no period of limitation for genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity nor for the penalties against them.

Article 80

The rights and duties of arrested persons are regulated by a statute which aims at their social

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rehabilitation and requires the institutions and the means necessary in the field of education and professional training to be provided. In their work, which is normally paid, the prisoners are covered by social legislation and their families are granted social security. They retain their civil and family rights except in the exceptional case of sentences for which the law prescribes differently in view of the nature of the crime committed. The prisoner may at any time appeal to a lawyer chosen by him and communicate freely with him. He may, with the help of his lawyer, appeal to a judge against any violation of the statute.

The staff of penal establishments receive the means and rights necessary to carry out their duties. Their conditions of work and their careers must be defined, taking into account their particular obligations and the task assigned to them. The penal educational system must be provided with the staff and the means adequate for the task it has to perform.

Article 81

Justice is administered free of charge. The law guarantees for all the right to seek redress before the courts. Legal aid allows, at every level of jurisdiction, the ordinary person with insufficient means to have the benefit of a lawyer.

Article 82

The full rights of the defence must be assured at all levels of jurisdiction and before all authorities. No one can be deprived of these rights or be compelled to renounce them. They include the right to assistance as well as the respect of the right to full hearings in all judicial or administrative procedure and the general right to appeal.

The presence of a lawyer during the hearing is an essential guarantee of the rights of the defence and of liberties.

The legal profession is an independent profession. Lawyers are inscribed in bar associations administered by their own councils who watch over the protection of their rights and act as disciplinary councils.

Article 83

In the exercise of their judicial function tribunals are independent and pass judgement by virtue of the Constitution and the laws.

Article 84

Magistrates (*du siège de l'ordre judiciaire* and *des juridictions administratives*) cannot be removed from office.

The code of the bench and law officers guarantee them freedom of speech and their right to professional associations. The examining magistrates are independent of the public prosecutor's department (Parquet).

Article 85

All jurisdictions have the character of colleges (or corporate bodies). The participation of citizens in the exercise of justice should be developed in every sphere, particularly by recourse to elected judge-assessors as part of the tribunal and by the appointment of juries representative of the whole population.

Article 86

Exceptional courts are forbidden. The State Security Court, the permanent tribunals of the armed forces, are abolished. Military courts in peace-time are abolished.

Court proceedings are public, oral, and the defence must be given a full hearing.

Every judgement of every court is open to appeal.

Article 87

The Supreme Council of Judges is the guarantor of the independence of judges.

It is composed of a majority of members elected by the judges. It also includes personalities appointed by the President of the Republic and by Parliament. The council elects a president from among its members.

The Supreme Council is in charge of appointing judges and of their promotion.

The Supreme Council is the competent authority for disciplinary matters regarding judges and the public prosecutor's department (Parquet). It meets either on its own initiative or on that of the Minister of Justice. The inspection of the judicial services is placed under its authority.

Article 88

A delegation for the preservation of liberties has the task of enquiring into violations of liberties brought to its notice and to report on them to Parliament.

The delegation is composed of nine members elected for six years by Parliament from outside its ranks.

Article 89

A Supreme Court promotes respect for constitutional regulations and helps to guarantee individual and collective liberties within the terms fixed by the Constitution.

(Translated by Alan Whittleton, Mollie Zak and Peter Avis)

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Discussion Contribution on:

Problems of Health and Safety at Work

Dr. Hermann Grunwald

"When a doctor visits a working-class home, he should be content to sit on a three-legged stool . . . and to the questions recommended by Hippocrates, he should add one more: What is your occupation?" (*Ramazzini, 1633-1714.*)

"We live on the sufferings of others. Everyone makes life a torment for some of his fellow men. How many people earn their living pleasantly? Many do so in unpleasant and often intolerable conditions. To love one's occupation is to be happy, but where are the occupations which one can love?" (*Pierre Hamp—both quotations from Donald Hunter's "The Diseases of Occupations".*)

In the "Aims and Constitution of the Communist Party", as amended at the 33rd National Congress, the party expresses its aim "so to develop and plan the use of all Britain's material, productive and scientific resources that every citizen will be guaranteed security, the right to work and leisure . . . to enjoy a full and happy life".

The right to work and the promise of a happy life will, however, sound rather hollow for the thousands of victims of unsafe working conditions, crippled often for life and hardly capable of any further industrial work. Therefore, one of the most important tasks of all members of the C.P., and especially those in leading positions in the trade unions, is to ensure that working conditions are made safer so that workers may have the opportunity to "love their occupation", or at least not to fear it.

For hundreds of years the dangers of occupations and the devastations caused by them to the workers' health have been discussed at great length.

Yet, far from making progress in the improvement of working conditions, we seem to regress. In any case, it is an open secret that "evils are suffered to exist where means of correction are known and easily applied". Anyone who doubts this assertion ought to read through the *Annual Report* of H.M. Chief Factory Inspector. The results of this persistent negligence are appalling. One example is the rate of accidents per 1,000 employed in manufacturing industry which, from its lowest rate in 1952, steadily increased, with minor swings:

Year	*Rate per 1,000 employed*
1952	22.5
1966	29.8
1969	34
1970	35.5
1971	32.4
1973	35

This picture, however, is incomplete, because, according to various annual reports of the factory inspectorate, up to 40 per cent or more of accidents are never reported, as ascertained in cross-checks with the Department of Health and Social Security, and the claims for industrial injuries made.

Another frightening item of statistics is the fatality rate of work accidents. In manufacturing industry it was, in 1972, 3.9 per 100,000 employed; in the construction industry 19.7 per 100,000 employed. The number of widows' benefits in payment owing to industrial fatalities of their husbands amount to 31,000, enough to populate a small town.

Industrial injury benefits hover annually round the 1,000,000 mark and certainly are understated.

Added to these figures has to be an unknown number of late results of dangerous working conditions, escaping the official register owing to the wording of the Industrial Injuries Act, demanding that the disease as well as the particular occupation causing it is "prescribed" by regulation. And it usually takes many years before the DHHS can be convinced that a certain damage to workers' health is caused by a particular occupation or process at work.

Finally, doctors are missing the connection between their patients' disease and their occupation because they do not take what is called an occupational history. The Chief Factory Inspector has mentioned in his reports repeatedly that doctors fail to notify the inspectorate of notifiable diseases for various reasons; hence the official statistics concerning industrial diseases is rather an understatement of the facts.

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The Struggle for Safer Working Conditions

Here is an opportunity for a political party proclaiming to work for the citizen's enjoyment of "a full and happy life", for a party which provides leading members in the trade union movement, to lead actively and determinedly the struggle for safer working conditions and for safeguarding the living standards of casualties in industry.

There are at least three spheres into which our work should be extended. First, the Health & Safety at Work etc. Act 1974 offers an opportunity to extend the field where workers can take an active part in ensuring protection of their health at their work-place. Section 2(5) entitles the Secretary of State to make regulations for safety representatives to be elected by the employees. We must use our influence in the trades unions to organise pressure to change this option into an obligation. And we have forceful evidence that this aim is fully justifiable. Section 286 of the Final Report on the Health of the Munition Workers (1917) states:

> "One method of securing the necessary co-operation (of the workers), which might with advantage be more widely adopted, is the establishment of committees of workers. The duties of such committees are to study the causes of accidents, to suggest and advise suitable means for prevention . . . to note any defects or dangers."

Next, more recently, Prof. W. O. Alexander, holder of the chair of Safety & Hygiene at the University of Aston (Birmingham), stated in an interview with *Hospital Times* (August 1970):

> "The most effective way of educating workers (in matters of health and safety at work) is by their undertaking committee work on safety and good housekeeping."

Once safety representatives and committees are functioning properly, their influence, using as basis of their action the new Act of 1974, would gradually contribute to ensure safer working conditions. Parallel with the forming of safety committees, the trade union leadership should institute regular courses for their members and officials informing them of the hazards in the industry and ways and means to counteract them.

Adequate Benefits

In wage negotiations, stress must be laid on ensuring adequate pay without endangering the health of the employees. Crude speed-up, loss or shortening of meal breaks and rest periods must be resisted on grounds of protection of workers' mental and physical health.

However, in spite of all efforts, accidents and industrial diseases are unlikely to be prevented completely, because human endeavour rarely, if ever, succeeds fully. Hence our next step must be to ensure that workers having lost their working capacity, and thereby the basis of their income, receive adequate benefits to maintain themselves and their dependents. Present benefits under the Industrial Injuries Act are utterly inadequate and must be drastically revised.

There is no shortage of ideas on how to do it. What is needed is an initiative to get the various individuals and organisations together who have expressed detailed ideas on improved provisions for the industrial victims. In 1970 and again in 1974, the Society of Labour Lawyers have published their ideas on this subject in the form of a pamphlet. The *Employment & Productivity Gazette,* July 1969, published a most relevant and interesting (in form of a summary) thesis by a factory inspector. So far, I have noticed very little response to these ideas in the trade union movement. Here is another opening for initiative by a political party and its active trade union members to show they rightly claim to lead the working class in their struggle for security and a happy life. Thirdly, reverting to Ramazzini's words, quoted at the beginning of this article, we must exert our influence towards inclusion into the syllabus of under and post-graduate medical education the subject of ill-health and its relation to working conditions. A beginning has been made by some medical schools, but only to a most inadequate extent.

General practitioners are now encouraged by financial inducements to attend refresher courses. Our medical comrades, working in the various professional organisations and committees, should urge now that the subject of occupational health and safety be included regularly and nationwide into such post-graduate refresher courses. Only if the members of the medical profession and other health workers are aware that many diseases are either caused or aggravated by working conditions, and actively look for them, will these diseases be correctly diagnosed, treated and charted, thereby giving prevention a signpost what to aim for.

Jointly, workers in the health service and comrades actively engaged in the trade union and industrial field should meet and discuss the points raised in this contribution (to the discussion) on ways and means of protecting the health of the people. This discussion must spread right into ranks of the whole membership through district and branch meetings, and I have no doubt we shall find enthusiastic support in form of new ideas and ways and means of implementing them.

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